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SPECIAL ISSUE

THE LABOR MOVEMENT TODAY

'Which Side Are You On?'

ARTICLES BY

Joel Seldin
B. J. Widick
Ronald Radosh
J. David Greenstone
William B. Gould
Russell W. Gibbons
Melvyn Dubofsky
Frank J. Donner

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LETTERS

Mars and butter

Baltimore, Md.

DEAR SIRS: In answer to the question on the back cover of *The Nation* [Aug. 11], "What do they think of the moon landing?," permit me to suggest what I hope they are thinking.

The President of the United States should commit the nation to eliminating poverty within the coming decade from the bounds of this country! President Kennedy's commitment to put a man on the moon by the end of this decade shows what determination of that kind can accomplish. His method was to allot billions of dollars to the mathematical analysis that has been worked out from Pythagoras and Euclid, down through Descartes and Newton to Einstein.

An analogous application of money to the mathematics of social insurance can give us a reduction in poverty as thrilling as the landing of the Eagle. Prof. Wilbur J. Cohen, while still Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, stated in an address, "Social Goals for 1967," at Brandeis University, Jan. 9: "We can and we must use the nation's growing wealth to eliminate poverty." His proposed methods were expansion and strengthening of social security, federal financing and national standards for public assistance payments, and conversion of state welfare agencies into Departments of Social Service or Departments of Individual Family Services. "We should be able," he said, "to reduce the number living in poverty year-by-year and to eliminate it altogether."

Moreover, Secretary Cohen did not make his suggested program dependent on slowing down the space program or ending the Vietnamese War. If we carry through such a program for the elimination of poverty with the same singleness of purpose that we used to reach the moon, we may then with a clear conscience go on to further goals, such as reaching Mars, or whatever else appeals to us.

Benjamin Szold Levin

Bogside

Pallaskenry, Co. Limerick

DEAR SIRS: On Saturday afternoon, Aug. 16, I spent a few hours in Bogside. I didn't go there alone. My wife said if I were going to get killed she was going to be killed too. And if *we* were both going to be killed our 7-year-old son and 5-year-old daughter might just as well be killed too. So we all went. With two friends.

What I saw and heard there made my blood boil. It made me a little sick to my stomach too. I have a feeling it's about time a few people like Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Cardinal Conway sat down and had a talk with Bernadette Devlin and some of the young and old people who helped defend Bogside. About what really happened there; about what may happen there again. I have a feeling that if Mr. Wilson had flown in his helicopter to Derry instead of to Cornwall he would have ended up taking off his coat and helping break up a few of those paving stones himself. And that if Cardinal Conway, who has been puzzled as to what the police were up to, had gone and found out, he too would have done the same thing.

Cardinal Conway and Bishop Philbin (thank God for him) are both obviously shocked almost beyond speech at what was attempted at Ardoyne and elsewhere in Belfast, but in spite of its world-wide coverage Bogside still seems to be something of a mystery. It's just that "women and children first" has never before in the philosophy of Anglo-Saxons meant gassing them, or burning them out of

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EDITORIALS

Holy Wars

Part of the nightmare of history is the "holy war," only now it is not so much a past nightmare as a current reality. The 1965 massacre by Moslems of some hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists, real or tarred with a convenient brush, is an especially gruesome instance. In this case Moslem animosity against "atheistic communism" may have played a significant part, but in modern religious conflicts political motivations are paramount. Religion is a sovereign catalyst to incite the populace for nationalistic or class purposes. The current disturbances in Northern Ireland and Israel make this perfectly clear.

The sacred mosque of Al Aksa is damaged by fire, and once again the call for a jihad against Israel resounds through the Moslem world, although with varying degrees of intensity. Obviously the act of arson was an outrage to be condemned by civilized men of all religious faiths or of none. But the accusation that the Israelis had anything to do with it is fantastic. They have their hands full in Jerusalem as it is. To believe anything of the sort, one would have to assume that the Israeli civil and military officials have gone out of their minds. But the incredibility of the charge really doesn't matter. If the police had caught the culprit with the torch in his hand and a score of Moslems had witnessed the arrest, Nasser would still have seized on the outrage for his purposes.

The political opportunism is brought out by Mohammed Hassanein Heykal, Nasser's semi-official spokesman, in a column entitled "Why Did Nixon Retreat?" which was quoted in *The New York Times* of August 23. The column charges that while Nixon had promised a more "even-handed" policy in the Middle East, he failed to deliver because power in Washington resides not alone in the White House but is shared by "visible and invisible" forces, such as the military-industrial complex, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the State Department, the press, movies and television—all of which are dominated, of course, by Jews and Zionists. To correct this situation—to halt Mr. Nixon's retreat—the Arabs should take action to dispel "the illusions being fostered about progress toward a political settlement in the Middle East." Nasser's attempt to launch a jihad based on the Al Aksa incident is, then, directed as much against the United States as against Israel. The purpose is to advertise, in the noisiest possible manner, what the Arabs might do unless Nixon pays more attention to them. It went over big in Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries, but the non-Arab Moslem nations remained cool. Turkey and Iran merely deplored the loss to Islam of the mosque, or that portion of it which was destroyed.

The situation in Northern Ireland, apparently so far removed, shows considerable parallelism. In the August 24 *Washington Post,* Robert L. Mott reports that, with the exception of birth control, he has not heard a Catholic or a Protestant discuss the merits of either religion during

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weeks of civil strife. Other observers concur. Religion, Mott concludes, is "merely a convenient excuse to perpetuate a feud that, by now, owes more to political and economic exploitation and to social discrimination than to differing interpretations of the Scriptures." Protestant bigots like the Rev. Ian Paisley rant about "Papists" (Paisley has called in one of his American counterparts, the Rev. Carl McIntyre of New Jersey, to aid him in arousing the Protestant mobs), but all this fanaticism is political, with religion as a convenient cover.

It works. As the Bogside Catholics see it, they are being attacked because they are Catholics: We're Catholics, aren't we, Mister? And those over there are Protestants, isn't that true? It doesn't do much good, as the young leftists of People's Democracy have found out, to tell the unemployed Catholic youngster that he is being exploited because is poor and lacks power, and for similar mundane reasons. As plainly as the common people of the 15th century could see that the world was flat, he sees that he is victimized because he is a Catholic. It is what the social scientists call a "situational delusion." It could hardly be more disastrous if it were real.

Carpetbagger Draft Boards

Can a man be classified and inducted by a draft board whose members do not live in the area of the board's jurisdiction? According to two federal judges in Northern California, the answer is no. In a recent pair of little noticed decisions that could have a major impact on the Selective Service System, U.S. District Court Judges Robert F. Peckham and Alfonso Zirpoli acquitted, in separate cases, two draft resisters who contended that their draft boards were not lawfully constituted.

Selective Service regulations provide that "the members of local boards . . . shall, if at all practicable, be residents of the area in which the local board has jurisdiction." The purpose of the regulation is to implement Congress' intent that draft boards be composed of "little groups of neighbors." Since the only qualifications necessary for draft board members is that they be civilian U.S. citizens between the ages of 30 and 75, there is no "practicable" reason why they cannot be chosen from the district where they induct—or so Judges Peckham and Zirpoli ruled.

While the California decisions are not binding on other federal judges, they set a precedent that could open the Selective Service System to wholesale legal attack. Lawyers talk of the possibility of writs of *habeas corpus* for imprisoned draft resisters and even active-duty GIs whose draft board memberships violated Selective Service regulations. Now draft refusers from certain board areas may have a potent legal arrow to add to their quiver.

Selective Service officials in California are clearly worried. They will not say how many draft boards might be affected by the recent rulings, though one official admits it is a "substantial number." Ghetto boards in particular are notorious for being made up of outsiders. Since board members' addresses are not made public, it is difficult for outsiders to pinpoint the "carpetbaggers." But in the

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last few weeks, nearly fifty California lawyers have obtained court orders allowing them to determine whether their young clients' draft boards are "lawfully constituted."

There are long-term pitfalls, of course, in this kind of assault on the draft. The Selective Service System can revise its regulations, or start packing draft boards with neighborhood residents. Moreover, a man whose classification or induction is ruled invalid because of a board's illegal membership can always be reclassified and reinducted by a new and lawfully constituted board. But the short-run prospects are cheering. PETER BARNES

Demoralization in Vietnam

Whatever the outcome of the Green Berets episode, it reflects serious disagreements among the case-hardened operators, American and South Vietnamese, who are still pressing for victory in Vietnam. It has long been an open secret that the Special Forces are the military arm of the CIA. What is still subject to speculation is who blew the whistle on the Green Berets, celebrated in the John Wayne movie and a hit record, and in newspaper and broadcast stories designed to instill low-IQ patriotism. Despite all this adulation, the Green Berets' commanding officer in Vietnam and seven of his subordinates were incontinently thrown into the Long Binh stockade, from which they were rescued by a pair of civilian lawyers hastily flown from the States, who tried the case in press conferences.

And all for what? Allegedly, the persons arrested had summarily done away with a South Vietnamese civilian suspected of having been a double agent. One would suppose that dozens, even hundreds, of obscure South Vietnamese civilians have been killed in this fashion, perhaps after torture, without anyone's being called to account. The sudden upsurge of the right to a fair trial in the Vietnamese blood bath indicates increasing strains between and among the parties to the Vietnamese-American grand alliance.

It is most unlikely that any of the Green Berets will be court-martialed or, if they are tried, that they will be convicted. Indeed, why should they be punished for doing what they were hired to do—except on the Nuremberg principle of individual responsibility which, as far as the United States is concerned, is outdated. Certainly, however, such strange goings-on cannot but impair morale, in the sense of blind obedience to orders, all the way down the line.

Even aside from the Green Berets mystery, the U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, especially the drafted men, must be wondering why they are kept on the firing line. Many of them are aware that numerous South Vietnamese officials are covering themselves by private deals with the Vietcong, who may have to be reckoned with in many parts of the country when the war finally ends.

American soldiers have rarely mutinied; the only conspicuous case that comes to mind is the occurrence in Italy in World War II when the troops, ordered to attack a difficult German position, protested, "We ain't mad at nobody." The incident in the Songchang Valley, reported by the Associated Press on August 25, had no direct connection with the ideology of the war; it seems rather to have been a case of combat fatigue and general disaffection. It is nonetheless barometric when the lieutenant in charge of a company is forced to report to the battalion commander that his men refuse to attack. There had been earlier complaints that the operation—the announced purpose of which was to reach the wreckage of a helicopter with eight dead occupants—was senseless. On August 24 the men would not move. The battalion commander sent a major and a battle-hardened sergeant to the scene. The sergeant seems to have done all the talking. Admitting to the AP men later that he had lied, he told the men that other units had sustained worse casualties and were still fighting. He called attention to the penalty for disobeying a direct order in combat—death. The men still refused. Finally, according to the story, the sergeant advanced by himself and the men followed him in a loose formation. What they were good for in future combat situations the account does not say, but if such incidents should multiply, a combination of resistance at home and in the field could serve to shorten the war.

Youth Labor Movement

Like their American counterparts, the West German labor unions largely follow the establishment line, disregarding the tensions of the times while trying to protect the *status quo*. But the DBG (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund—United Labor unions of Germany) are being challenged by the young workers within their organization.

Waldemar Reuter, member of the executive council of the DBG, was hissed and booed recently when he spoke before delegates to the DGB Youth Conference. He admonished his listeners that a labor union is "not a political party nor a substitute for one and definitely not a playground for those who feel politically alienated or are revolutionary hotheads." A few years ago, the hostile behavior of the audience would have been unthinkable; then Germany's working youth had not entered the political arena. But today, the youth organization within the DGB has been gripped by the same unrest and unease which is typical of the students at universities and high schools. Founded nineteen years ago, its membership totals 588,338 and makes it therefore the largest youth organization in that country. However, it is totally without voice and influence on its parent organization; when decisions are made at DGB conventions, youth delegates have no voting rights. Petitions for action within the youth labor market, for changes in apprenticeship regulations and vocational education, for democracy within the unions themselves, have been ignored by the DGB establishment. It is therefore not surprising that establishment functionaries are being booed, while DGB leaders leaning to the left are being applauded. Werner Vitt, member of the executive committee of IG-Chemistry, who talks about the solving

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of political problems as a task to be taken up by labor unions, finds enthusiastic reception among the young.

At a conference of the young unionists last November, the following resolutions were agreed upon: (*1*) recognition of the DDR (German Democratic Republic) and the Oder-Neisse Line; (*2*) contacts with the labor unions of the DDR and Communist labor unions of Western Europe; (*3*) ideological and financial support of the Easter March Campaign for Democracy and Disarmament; (*4*) discussions with the "progressive students" and preparation for "common actions to democratize society"; (*5*) formation of a DGB committee to call a general strike in case of wrongful application of the Enabling Laws.

As is to be expected, conservative German newspapers are dismissing these resolutions as Communist-inspired and directed by Ulbricht's propagandists. However, DDR reports dismiss the youth labor movement of West Germany as far too bourgeois and establishment-oriented, as not class-oriented enough, and not at all in line with the peace policies pursued by the DDR.

Basically, the ideas of the working youth are radical-democratic; youth wants to see democracy realized within the unions as well as without. The young worker does not want to be led any longer by senior functionaries, who are not interested in the problems of the young, but rather to spend money and energy for parties feting retiring and retired union members. He has learned that requests for change and understanding fall on deaf ears, and it is quite understandable that the membership of the young declines within the unions, while more and more young workers and apprentices join left-wing groups. The DGB establishment should not be surprised if the young union member of today becomes the revolutionary of tomorrow.

H. MULADORE

Real Trouble for the Pentagon

The Nation may be forgiven for taking a certain amount of satisfaction, not unmixed with amusement, at the vast amplification the media are giving to themes which our editors and contributors began raising a decade ago and have been hammering at ever since. Bigness surely has its advantages, but in journalism it sometimes seems as if discernment is in inverse proportion to size.

And not only in journalism: the Pentagon's present troubles stem largely from the fact that instead of shrinking a bit after the Korean War, it grew ever fatter, in budgets, in grades and in power, despite intermittent efforts to curb it through the Secretary of Defense. The Vietnamese War, and many peripheral occurrences, have exposed the faults, some of them verging on absurdity, of a bureaucratic monstrosity which, like the prehistoric reptiles, didn't know how to stop growing in the rear when a limit had been reached in the front. The Department of Defense is not solely to blame. In the most irresponsible abnegation of power in recent American history, the Congress issued a series of blank checks to the services, on the assumption, it would seem, that if Mendel Rivers, Richard B. Russell and John Stennis approved any expenditure, however extravagant, it must be necessary for the national security.

Now the time of reckoning has come, and there is not the slightest danger that the Congressional pendulum will swing too far in the other direction. If the defense budget were cut in half and the remaining half were expended intelligently and efficiently, the country would be safer than it is now—safer not only from foreign attack but from reckless adventures easier to get into than out of.

Although not recently, the Pentagon has been in this kind of difficulty before, and it has a standard operating procedure for continuing to ride the gravy train. Intelligence purporting to show the rise of the Soviet and Red Chinese menace is declassified and presented by the highest brass before the captive audiences of the veterans' organizations—captive because of their loss of ability to think except in hallowed stereotypes. Then the Pentagon makes some cuts, nicely calculated to appease its Congressional critics but no more than that. If the critics are still not satisfied and demand further cuts, the Pentagon's screams are loud enough to convince naive citizens that the Reds are about to overrun the country.

But that is where the difficulty arises in the Pentagon's present agony, which is actually not nearly as acute as the military press officers would have us believe. The average citizen is not overly concerned with military budgets; he figures that if it's necessary for our security he will dig down. Expenditures for welfare are what enrage him.

Prof. Seymour Melman, Sen. William Proxmire, even such a superlative logician as Senator Fulbright, are unable to convince him that things are really bad within the services. It takes the services themselves to do that, and they have done it. On the part of many citizens—probably by now a majority—there is a kind of gut feeling that the American military heads do not know their business. The series of ludicrous misjudgments in the Vietnamese War are a factor. Then there are such individual incidents as the sinking at dockside of a new submarine being fitted with its interior installations, the disaster which resulted in the loss of the destroyer *Frank E. Evans* and seventy-five of our sailors, the *Pueblo* affair, and so on. With the finest and most expensive communications systems in the world, communications in the services keep breaking down, not for technical reasons but because the service bureaucracies are not as smart as the computers and satellites. And, politically, isn't it true that the Pentagon is both the victim and the beneficiary of an obsolete "model" of the strategic world situation which it carries about in its collective mind?

Whether this distrust of the military goes all the way down to the casual newspaper reader and TV viewer is doubtful at this stage. It is enough, however, if it has infiltrated the ranks of middle management and the professions, and those academic circles and "think" organizations which are indispensable for even a show of efficiency. When the media becomes critical, one can be sure that the loss of confidence has gone deep. It is doubtful, then, that the Pentagon can deflect the tide of criticism being directed at it by simply cutting a few billions from its grossly inflated budget.

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Prophecies Galore

The Nixon Administration hopes to extend its run of good luck by predicting more of the same. An unnamed spokesman assures reporters that prospects are splendid for a quiet year on the campuses. Other officials let it be known that further large-scale urban rioting is unlikely. But the fact that we had a relatively cool summer does not justify a forecast of cool summers to come. Nor is prophecy a substitute for leadership.

This Administration came to power after four summers of rioting had left Negro communities discouraged and, for the moment, exhausted. And not everyone agrees with the anonymous spokesman who looks forward to a quiet year on campus. Sol M. Linowitz, chairman of a special committee on campus tensions of the American Council on Education, has said that it is foolhardy to think that campus unrest has spent its course.

Not all prophecies are self-fulfilling, and at some date in the near future the luck of the Nixon Administration may run out. In the meantime we may expect a steady diet of pleasant forecasts.

The Woes of Con Edison

The troubles of Con Edison are also the troubles of New York City and its northern suburbs, and will not be easily cured. The crisis in electric power supply that has developed in the New York metropolitan area should be a warning to the nation: it can happen elsewhere.

The New York loads are growing ever more enormous, at the rate of about 8 per cent a year. Con Edison alone must be prepared to meet a peak load of 7,350 megawatts, a megawatt being 1 million watts, or 1,000 kilowatts. To meet this requirement Con Edison has a nominal capacity of slightly over 8,100 megawatts, which does not sound too bad, but the excess consists of power purchased from neighboring companies. Except for a small guaranteed block of 250 megawatts, these companies are not obliged to supply the power if in need themselves. Moreover, purchased power costs about twice as much as power derived from Con Edison's own generators, and hence is a burden on the consumers.

Another disturbing fact is that 12 per cent of Con Edison's eggs are in a single basket—the 1,000-megawatt turbine generator at Ravenswood in Queens. This machine was out of service for months after burning out its bearings in the great blackout of 1965, and recently suffered an internal short circuit. This time it was repaired in a little more than two weeks—very good time for a machine of this size—but it remains a crucial element in the system.

The company's day-by-day generating capacity is admittedly inadequate, a condition for which it is not solely responsible. The board chairman of Con Edison is now Charles R. Luce, an enlightened executive recruited from the public power sector. Mr. Luce is only stating a fact when he says that there are "objections on some level to just about every plant we hope to build." In the past, however, these objections have often been aggravated by the company itself. The 2,000-megawatt Cornwall pumped storage project was supposed to be on line in 1967, but in the face of opposition by conservationists anxious about the future of the Hudson River gorge, it cannot be ready until 1977—if it is ever built at all. If Con Edison had initially offered to put the power plant underground, it might have satisfied the conservationists, who are not in the strong position of those opposing the spoliation of Mineral King Valley by the Walt Disney interests.

Con Edison was allowed to go its own way with only lax supervision by the New York State Public Service Commission. While the officers of a utility may benefit temporarily by otiose regulation, in the long run public hostility builds up until the utility is in danger of being blamed for every adverse condition, as well as those for which it is indeed responsible. The blind opposition of the electric utilities to federal regulation is another blunder of this type: before long they may have to go to Washington for help in getting generating plants and interties established where they are urgently needed.

Above all, the power companies, and other semi-monopolistic industries, should abandon their secretiveness, eschew self-serving propaganda, and try to establish a rapport with the public based on long-range planning, with options and alternatives. Community officials and groups should be given a chance to contribute ideas and make suggestions. The companies probably won't do it, but if they did they might find themselves almost popular.

Eliot Pratt

The contingent—never overly large—of men who throughout their lives have served the public interest faithfully and well has lost a distinguished member. Eliot Pratt, who died at the age of 65 at his home in New Milford, Conn., was a fine servant of the public who preferred to function as a private citizen. A grandson of Charles Pratt, founder of Pratt Institute of Brooklyn, he was a man of wealth who generously supported the liberal causes in which he believed. He also personally served these causes.

At one time or another he had been a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial Democracy, the National Sharecroppers Fund, Goddard College and the National Migrant Children's Fund. The rural poor—sharecroppers, tenant farmers, migratory workers—were a special concern; after graduating from Harvard he had attended the Cornell Agricultural School and for a time worked as a rural sociologist with the National Farmers Union. In 1960 he founded *Current* magazine, "for the concerned citizen," which reprints material from all sources "on the frontiers of social problems of today"—a valuable application of the digest format to the field of social criticism.

Eliot Pratt was a quiet, thoughtful, kindly man who endured a long illness with rare fortitude. He was never self-seeking or self-assertive. One might say of him, as Malcolm Muggeridge recently said of Leonard Woolf, that "the passion for goodness was not in him but the practice was." He was an extraordinarily good man.

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THE LABOR MOVEMENT TODAY

A NOTE ON THIS ISSUE

Labor Day provides the occasion but not the reason for this special issue on the American Labor Movement. We decided to take a critical look at the labor movement this year for essentially the same reason that prompted a similar survey in 1955 ("American Labor Today: Prospect and Retrospect," *The Nation,* December 10, 1955). Then as now labor was closing one chapter and starting another. The first postwar decade was then coming to an end. It was the year of the merger of the AFL and the CIO about which we were not too sanguine ("Unity for What?" *The Nation,* February 19, 1955). By then, fighting the cold war had become an established way of life and the domestic witch hunt had not yet abated. The close working relationship between labor and government during the New Deal and Fair Deal administrations no longer prevailed; labor was definitely on the defensive. The decade drawing to a close had witnessed the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act which if not "the slave labor act" some labor orators described, was hardly friendly in intention or effect. Right to work laws had been adopted in a number of states and "anti-labor" movements flourished here and there.

These and similar developments had played a part in bringing about the merger of the two branches of the labor movement. In addition, it was clear even then that accelerating social and economic change in the years ahead would have important implications for the labor movement. By recognizing, accepting, and even relying on unions, management had regained the inititiative in collective bargaining which, to some extent, it had lost. A period of active collaboration had begun. "When labor is organizing," we said then, "the initiative belongs to it; when the drives to organize abate, management recaptures the initiative." All in all it seemed a good time, in December 1955, to take a look at the labor movement.

This year seems an equally appropriate time. Again we are nearing the end of a decade of extraordinarily rapid movement and change. The merger of the AFL-CIO, about which we had misgivings from the start, has not proved to be an unqualified success. A new grouping—the Alliance for Labor Action—has emerged. Significant organizing drives, involving nurses, teachers, hospital workers, government employees, para-professionals, farm workers and airline employees, are again under way. The cold war has entered a new phase. The domestic witch hunt, which noticeably abated after 1960, is being reorganized, redirected and refinanced. Richard M. Nixon is in the White House following a campaign which found the labor movement estranged from some of its staunchest allies of former years. A new militancy has emerged among Negroes and Mexican-Americans, and the campuses have been swept by unrest. Disillusionment with "welfare liberalism" is widespread. The rhetoric of the Great Society is heard no more. Poverty, we now realize, will not be eliminated by merely allocating a small percentage of GNP to the poor, as many had once believed. The disastrous war in Vietnam, which by and large the labor movement had supported, drags on and on. But for the first time since 1945, the military-industrial-labor complex is high on the agenda of critical issues. So as we near the end of still another decade, it seemed a good time to devote a special issue to the labor movement.

This issue, then, is about the labor movement, not about the problems and achievements of specific unions. In a sense it is more concerned with the leadership—with the public position—of the labor movement than with the rank and file. By and large it follows the same format as the 1955 edition and is concerned with essentially the same issues. As then we have selected only certain matters for attention but there can be no gainsaying the importance of those selected. No doubt the labor movement will survive—even prosper—if it continues to adhere to present policies and perspectives. But it is not likely to regain the momentum and reacquire the degree of public support which once made it an important agency of social change unless it meets the challenge implicit in the issues set forth.

The discussion opens with Joel Seldin's statement of the changing social setting in which the labor movement functions today. B. J. Widick and William B. Gould consider different aspects of an old issue which has acquired a new urgency and significance. Mr. Widick stresses the importance of unions as a power base for blacks. Mr. Gould takes a look at what might be called "structural discrimination" against blacks in the labor movement. Ronald Radosh writes on labor and foreign policy; J. David Greenstone labor and politics; Russell W. Gibbons the relation between student activism and the labor movement. Frank J. Donner examines "the new unionism" and the state of affairs that prevails now that the labor movement finds itself caught between two worlds, one dying if not dead, the other struggling but still powerless to be born. Harry Golden's vignette of a recent incident in Charlotte reminds us that muscle and maximum public inconvenience will never substitute for the older union tactic of solidarity and broad public support.

Our 1955 labor issue was subtitled "Prospect and Retrospect" for the obvious reason that the first implies at least a measure of the second. Even readers as well informed as ours—and young readers in particular—need to be reminded of the slice of history Melvyn Dubofsky presents. For it bears not only on questions raised by the new militants of all types but on issues of perennial concern. It raises once again matters involving the relationship between the radical experience and tradition, and the labor movement and what it says about the radical's dilemma in an industrial society is relevant and timely. It suggests, too, why the leadership of the labor movement is preoccupied with preserving the gains labor has achieved rather than pursuing the professed goals through which it won public support.

THE EDITORS

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Prospects and Problems

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Not too many years ago a new militance emerged in organized labor that was able to attract the allegiance of many Americans who were not, and were not likely to become, union members. The new industrial unions that were created in that great wave of enthusiasm and activity desperately needed public support. Their challenge to the national conscience was summed up in a song entitled *Which Side Are You On?*

The message was clearly that the new brand of unionism served broader interests than just the higher pay or better working conditions it could bring to those it organized. Just how broadly those interests could be conceived depended, in large measure, on which union leader was describing them. As a result, they were never very clearly spelled out. The advantage was that descriptions of union objectives could be tailored to the group being appealed to, from the most conservative to the most radical, and the resulting support was broad. So was the disagreement among union leaders and union members about what they were after, and for three decades at least the American labor movement has existed in this ambiguous fashion, with first the militants and later the older conservatives in control.

Those were the decades when the nation's understanding of its problems was distressingly unsophisticated, and such uncertainties could be allowed to exist. If we were concerned about poverty at all, we were reasonably sure that it resulted from the unconscionable greed of a few powerful men. Defeating them was all that was needed, and the basic national goodness and soundness would prevail, with no need to worry about intricate structural faults in the social and economic order.

The same or similar villains could be and were blamed for wars, civil rights withheld, and discrimination against minorities. Issues like the urban and rural population-pollution syndrome, or the quality of life under a military-industrial-marketing complex, were left to the attention of esoteric scholars in ivory towers whose notions had little meaning for practical men and everyday life. In ways that went largely unspecified, democracy, bolstered by the vaguely defined unionism, spiced up for some with a little refined socialism, could be counted on "to take care of all that." Dissenters like anarchists, Wobblies or Communists, were quickly disposed of.

Today, with new politics, a shrinking world, and modern communications media, we feel that we know better. Not only poverty, civil rights and the rights of minorities but wars that nobody professes to want, nuclear weapons, population and pollution explosions, world famine, urban and rural blight, alienation from the democratic process, individual identity and national morality are part of the list of common concerns. We feel that we understand better, not only the existence but also the complexity of these problems, and we are increasingly aware that failure to solve them threatens global, national and individual survival.

More and more the public demands that all institutions contribute at least to some progress toward solutions of these problems. Although there exists only the vaguest notion of what has to be done, and an underlying suspicion of pat answers, we do want clarity about who can reliably be expected to help. As this mood grows, more and more former supporters are turning the tables on organized labor and asking it the question that the unions first raised: "Which side are you on?"

Do the unions still serve national as well as their own interests? Are they even really serving the interests of their members, or only those of their leaders? Must unionists exclude others from opportunity, thus perpetuating poverty, in order to protect themselves; does this mean that unions will always be pitted against minorities in a competition for jobs and economic security? Are so many unionists so dependent on war industries for their jobs that they can never be an active force for peace? Does the same jobs-above-all attitude make the unions unreliable partners in fighting pollution, famine and urban and rural deterioration? Must there always be so broad and flagrant a connection between labor and organized crime?

Even broader questions are being raised. Are the unions so much a part of the Establishment—in industrial relations, domestic politics, and even foreign policy—that they must be counted among the opponents of the old ideals of equalitarianism and humanism? Have they become a regressive, rather than a progressive, element in the dialectic of change? What will be the role of labor in a society in transition, and where is continued support of existing unions, and possibly even of unionism, likely to lead as the society evolves?

If there are no ready answers, there is at least some evidence worth considering. The leadership of the AFL-CIO and its largest affiliates appear, for the most part, to have opted for what they consider "practical" and their critics deride as "business" unionism. Although these same leaders insist vehemently that they have not lost their old fervor for the larger social causes, the federation has been consistently lagging or absent on issues involving poverty, minority rights and peace, and has certainly done little to sensitize its membership in these areas. More pay for less work is still the touchstone of union policy, without too much concern for anything else. Gone are the crusades that labor once led.

Union leaders, with the seeming endorsement of their members, apparently prefer to regard themselves as the

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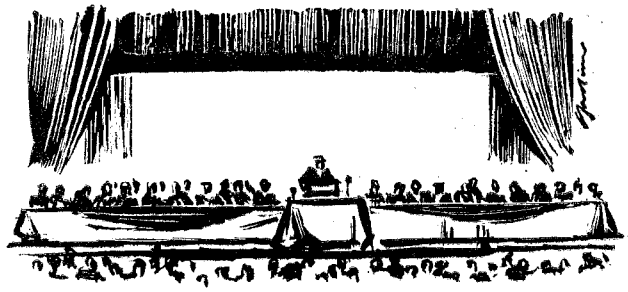
opposite numbers of the business and industrial leaders with whom they bargain for contracts. They like to model themselves after the style of these management executives, although in many cases they do it poorly. If they address themselves to the broad issues of the day, as they occasionally do, it is in much the same way that the corporation managers approach such problems.

The primary interest (after themselves) is that of the organization. Its long-range stability is paramount, even to growth. Its requirements justify anything and everything, from political maneuvering and legislative lobbying to crimes up to and including murder. There is implicit faith that this approach also serves the best interests of those the leaders are supposed to be serving, be they employed, jobless or retired members, unorganized workers, consumers or the public in general. The handful of exceptions, in membership or leadership, are pointed to with pride when the old militant image needs reviving, but they serve only to highlight how far removed they are from the general rule.

In what used to be the enemy camp, business and industry appear to be quite comfortable with this stance of union leaders. Except for some isolated instances around the margins of the economy—grape growers, hospital directors and a handful of old "free enterprisers"—the employers accept the current, limited definition of unionism. They are even heard to say that unions (properly controlled by law) are an inevitable part of modern labor-management relations. In most cases bargaining has become more a game than the bitter warfare of earlier years. What is more, it is a game in which both sides know and stick to the rules, including the ritual things that have to be said for public consumption.

Both are appalled by anyone who violates these rules. Analyses of current labor-management relations are disturbingly like descriptions of price-setting among seeming competitors. The process is mainly designed to keep the public from finding out how well the "opponents" really get along with each other. As in the setting of "administered prices," there are on occasion real wars in which individuals and organizations can get badly hurt, but never to the extent of upsetting the "system." Although it may not be conclusive evidence that this cozy relationship exists, it at least gives one pause to note that in the present Congress there are no major bills pending that would limit or roll back the existing powers of the unions.

At the other extreme are the student activists, the black and other minority militants and the New Left. Whatever



their differences among themselves, these groups hold in common that solving the problems which concern them will require basic institutional changes. Although they even disagree about which institutions need changing and how, they agree that the unions will be of little help in making such changes.

The only remaining guardians of the old dreams about what could be accomplished through union organization are among the older generation of liberals and progressives—mostly intellectuals. Occasionally they still crop up in public or quasi-public office, but mostly they are upper-middle-class professionals or academics. For them, the most distressing element in the generation gap is the young people's attitude toward the unions, and they resist it. Similarly, they resist the prevailing attitude among union leaders, union members and employers. They are not ready to admit that their earlier hopes, based on unionism, were badly misplaced. Their reluctance was graphically illustrated in their attitudes toward the conflicting demands of union teachers and indigenous Negro leaders regarding hiring, tenure and community control in ghetto schools. Although in many cases they found it hard to understand or defend the union position, neither could they quite bring themselves to condemn or oppose it. And they would never cross a picket line.

However else one may assess this group, it must be recognized that they still exercise a powerful influence on conventional wisdom. Consequently, there is considerable currency to the view that if the unions are not everything they ought to be, neither are they so far gone that they should be deserted or scrapped. Politicians, editorial writers and professors can still support or find refuge in this "balanced" view, and it is not surprising that it persists. But to understand its strength and longevity, it must also be recognized that the possibility still exists that it is the correct view. Among the evidence to be considered are some faint stirrings of new thought within labor.

The recent joining together in the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) of the United Auto Workers, the Teamsters and the International Chemical Workers Union to seek for labor new relevance to social problems, is one example. The first two, with a combined membership of 3.6 million, are not in the AFL-CIO, but the 110,000-member ICWU is an affiliate, and is defying George Meany's threat to expel from the federation any union that joins the ALA. Earlier a caucus within the AFL-CIO set up to oppose the war in Vietnam, was another. The latter made no great inroads into the AFL-CIO's sup-

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port of the war and other military programs, and the former is still too young to be judged, but both indicate that there are still some union leaders and members who feel that labor need not take an exclusively parochial view of its own interests.

On the minority-rights front, a bloc of union leaders led by A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin continue to insist not only that it is possible for minorities to improve their status through unionism but that the unions offer their best hope. Again, these are experienced union leaders who feel that labor can be activated as a more dynamic force for social and economic advances. They are well aware that there have been few concrete results in such programs as opening building trades apprenticeships and employment to minority-group workers, but they apparently still find it possible to feel that this can and will be accomplished within unionism.

In the Charleston, S.C., hospital strike, Local 1199, of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union, an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, forged the first real alliance between labor and the civil rights groups. It hopes that together they can improve the conditions of underpaid Negro workers, particularly in the South, something neither has been able to do alone.

In a few isolated instances, student and minority activists have made common cause with individual unions on specific issues. At some colleges, students have included in their demands the unionization of campus service workers. In some manpower programs, particularly those developing sub-professionals for the human services, there have been efforts to unionize the new workers to improve their conditions, increase their pay, and establish their status. Activists have led these drives, and have found no better mechanism for achieving their objectives than a union.

But whether public support for unionism will again become the burning issue that it was in the thirties and forties is unclear. Compounding the uncertainty is the relative paucity in recent years of news and comment about labor's policies and actions. The news media and the journals of opinion still carry items about a particular strike, political campaign, or legislative drive involving labor, or court decisions affecting bargaining strategy or membership policy. It is some time, however, since much attention was paid to the ambiguities of basic union policy, and the public has had little opportunity to affect the formulation of such policies. The unions have gone back to the AFL's old preference for keeping such discussions and decisions private. The media have, wittingly or not, cooperated.

Whether labor can continue to keep its affairs within its own "house" is, however, questionable. New times have brought new alignments of power outside as well as within labor. In an era of burgeoning concern for the consumer, triggered by a worrisome inflation, the unions' economic ability to affect prices and purchasing power even outside their own ranks makes it unlikely that labor will be allowed to claim rights of privacy. If the government or the spokesmen for the assorted downtrodden lack the will or the power to haul labor and its policies into the public arena, there are other forces that probably will. Business and industry, hard pressed themselves on the price question, will have to do so if only to distract some attention from themselves, or to provide a scapegoat.

If prices don't do it, then politics and public policy are a reasonable second possibility. In both major parties, established power continues to crumble and upstarts are challenging. As new blocs are formed, labor will have to declare itself. When it does, questions about how and why will be asked, and some sort of answers will have to be given if the blocs are to command any support. In addition, the dependable old red, white and blue curtain that has shielded the government's foreign military commitments is being frayed, and labor's role is not likely to escape the probing.

There is another reason for exposing the unions to public view. Armies of job seekers, previously not considered employment problems, are forming. The ethnic minorities may be just the outriders of this horde. It includes millions of women no longer satisfied to accept housekeeping and motherhood as alternatives to jobs, the mushrooming youth population no longer willing to accept more years of education as an alternative to jobs, "senior citizens" unwilling or unable to live on their skimpy pensions, and even growing numbers of the disabled, the retarded, the mentally ill, the alcoholics, and those afoul of the law, for all of whom jobs are being recommended as the best answer to their problems.

However long and hard spokesmen for the *status quo* in the labor market may trumpet their story of unlimited job opportunity and unfilled jobs, most of these people will continue to see only closed doors in "the world of work." Accountability will be demanded sooner or later, the unions will be an obvious target, and silence on their part will not be accepted as golden.

If or when the time comes, and the unions are again at the center of public attention, there will be a great need for better information than has been available in the past. If the liberal view is to prevail, and the unions are to fill a social role that transcends the immediate and even selfish interests of their members and their leaders, everyone will have to know more about them than they have been willing to make known about themselves recently. Greater and more sophisticated attention in the mass media will help, but ultimately it will be the unions' own attitude toward public and candid disclosure of their internal affairs that will indicate most clearly which side they are on.

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Black Workers in White Unions

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If there is validity in the charge that the American labor movement is dominated by backward-looking traditionalists, is to be found in the relationship between trade union leaders and the racial minorities. Most of the controversy relates to the unions' response to the Negro worker in large urban centers, where trade unionism is strong and the influx of blacks and Puerto Ricans has produced conflict. The response is an ambivalent one—on the one hand, generous support by some of the progressive unions for legislation which improves the lot of blacks, but at the same time a reluctance on the part of the union leaders to put their own house in order and thus offend the white majority.

This is not new. It arose when the two World Wars brought large Negro migrations to the urban centers. What is new is the black community's hostility to all-white construction crews at work in the ghetto in the better paying trades and the emergence in the basic industries such as auto and steel, of the young black worker who did not grow up with trade unionism and who appears unafraid to challenge authority, whether that of union or employer. Although Negro workers make up only 9 per cent of the 18 million trade union members in this country, between 1960 and 1968 the nonwhite proportion of the work force in autos rose from 9 per cent to 15 per cent, placing blacks in a majority in some Detroit UAW locals. In electrical equipment manufacturing the increase was from 4 per cent to 9 per cent, while in metal fabricating the proportion went from 5 per cent to 8.4 per cent.

Such statistics, as well as society's general impatience, seem to be lost on union leaders who apparently believe that white rank-and-file racism simply mirrors that of the country at large. On the tough issues like seniority, apprenticeship standards and hiring halls—which affect black mobility—the unions are waiting for the Supreme Court to tell them that they must move. That may be a while yet. Although Attys. Gen. Ramsey Clark and John Mitchell have filed numerous suits alleging union discrimination in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (the federal fair employment practices statute) during the past two years, the courts are clogged with a host of procedural issues. Meanwhile, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which administers Title VII, stumbles along with no enforcement powers and little in the way of appropriations. As Chairman Brown of the commission recently lamented: "The only thing we can do if we find discrimination is to sit down with the employer or the unions and negotiate or conciliate the particular case. . . It is almost impossible for us to do the job that has to be done unless and until we get cease and desist [enforcement] powers."

A basic question raised by the application of civil rights law to job discrimination in the unions is how legislation can undo past discrimination embodied in contemporary employment practices. This is highlighted by the seniority disputes between black and white workers in industrial plants where the races have been segregated by job and department in the past. (The crafts are confronted with some of the same problems in connection with their referral seniority.) The sticking point is usually how to do away with a system which has denied the Negro worker access to better paying, more desirable and hitherto all-white jobs and, more particularly, to arrive at a fair basis upon which Negroes are to be promoted. Most often, seniority districts have been separated for black and white jobs. The "competitive status" seniority of a worker for promotion and layoff is computed at the time which he has worked in the particular job and department, rather than plant-wide or "date of entry" seniority, which starts from the date the worker is hired. Because of past segregation, this means that the black worker's seniority is only good in the department to which he has been confined.

Of course, the principal value of seniority is that it creates a relatively objective system which extricates the union from continuous disputes among workers over who gets a particular job. Arbitrary action by the employer also is less likely. And whether seniority is based on time on the job, in the department or the plant, is usually a matter for the collective bargaining process. But the black worker is hurt badly when he cannot use the seniority which he has previously accumulated in his segregated district. The white worker who has already moved into the better jobs has a leg up the ladder when it comes to future reductions in the work force or competitive bidding for promotion.

Prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the courts did not wish to upset seniority arrangements negotiated by a number of industrial unions, the United Steelworkers being among the most prominent. The Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in New Orleans refused to disturb a system where Negroes were permitted promotion rights into the formerly all-white "line of progression" if they gave up their seniority and took a pay cut. The court said: "This is a product of the past. We cannot turn back the clock." (*Whitfield* v. *United Steelworkers.*) Once the Civil Rights Act was passed, however, Negro workers found new courage to challenge this kind of procedure. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the courts have been inundated with allegations of seniority discrimination. More than 300 complaints have been filed against U.S. Steel alone—most involving the United Steelworkers as co-respondents.

The tide may now be beginning to turn. Last year, a district court in Virginia said that a seniority system which had its genesis in past racial discrimination was unlawful

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(*Quarles* v. *Philip Morris*). "Congress did not intend to freeze an entire generation of Negro employees into discriminatory patterns that existed before the Act," said the court, in preserving seniority credits accumulated by black workers while they were held back in relatively unskilled, low-paying segregated jobs. And on July 28 of this year, the same Fifth Circuit (and the same judge) which had refused to disturb discrimination rooted in the past did just that in *United Papermakers* v. *United States*, finding the Crown Zellerbach Corp. and the Papermakers guilty of seniority discrimination. Although the Supreme Court has yet to rule, the handwriting seems to be on the wall for most of the unions participating in such practices.

However, the cases have not yet disposed of the many complaints against unions with more highly skilled jobs, like the Steelworkers. In the steel industry, the skills prerequisite to jobs previously held by whites differ substantially from those of the jobs into which Negroes had been segregated. The remedy in such cases will undoubtedly be to establish training programs for black workers who possess the necessary potential. And woven into this picture is a mine field of tests and examinations devised by employers for black employees whom they have always regarded as nonpromotable.

Much litigation between the Steelworkers and their Negro members is in part responsible for the appearance of the Ad Hoc Committee (composed of black steelworkers) at the 1968 Steelworkers Convention. This committee is pressuring for Negro representation in policy making and staff positions at the national level. Despite the fact that the Steelworkers' membership is one-fourth black, whites are in a majority in every regional district, and thus far have been unwilling to vote for Negro candidates. But the emergence of black militant organizations in the auto industry, though seemingly part of a national trend, is a little more difficult to understand. The job segregation in autos, of a *de facto* variety which seems to produce a number of all-black foundries, is hardly as prevalent as in steel. Walter Reuther, albeit under pressure from the Negro American Labor Council, has sponsored the election of two black international executive board members. Moreover, the UAW has recently proposed to the Ford Motor Company that newly hired "disadvantaged" workers be immunized against work force reductions through the use of "inverse" seniority.

The "inverse" seniority concept as put forward by UAW leader Ken Bannon would permit senior workers to take a layoff at their own option with generous supplemental unemployment compensation benefits (SUB) negotiated by the UAW. Thus junior black employees who are not yet eligible for SUB would have a better chance of obtaining the seniority credits required for eligibility. This proposal has been rejected by the Ford Motor Company, which viewed it as a stalking-horse for a sabbatical leave for auto workers, rather than as a proposal aimed at the hard-core unemployed. It is probably fair to say that the union's proposal would increase the cost of the SUB program considerably.

UAW officials, who have roundly attacked black militants in the auto plants, are genuinely surprised by the wildcat stoppages which have their origin in allegedly racial issues. Privately they recognize that the grievance procedure, which was created shortly after union organization thirty years ago, is not up to dealing with some of the more complex racial disputes. The arbitrator, who is the third party "neutral" adjudicating a dispute, is picked by the very parties, union and company, whom the dissidents distrust; the black worker has no say in the process.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has attempted to establish special machinery in conjunction with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to resolve disputes concerning white over-the-road drivers who refuse to share their cabs with Negroes. But not much has been accomplished—largely, say the Teamsters, due to EEOC's confusion about its future under Nixon.

An example of the Negro community's skepticism over the arbitration process, as it relates to racial discrimination, can be found in a San Francisco dispute arising out of civil rights agreements negotiated between the Hotel Employers Association of San Francisco and various civil rights organizations. The Culinary Workers Union challenged their validity on the ground that an agreement concerning employment conditions with anyone but the union offends the principle that the union is exclusive bargaining agent for all workers. In a hearing held without the presence of the civil rights groups which had been involved in the negotiations, an arbitrator held that the civil rights agreements were unlawful because of exclusive representation arguments advanced by the union. Moreover, in the arbitrator's view, the requirement that the employer keep statistics concerning the racial composition of the work force by job classification was the same as unlawful "preferential treatment." Predicated upon some very shaky legal propositions (the Equal Employment Opportunitty Commission itself requires racial statistics from employers and unions), the arbitration award created a furor in the San Francisco Negro community and raised suspicions about the good faith of labor unions concerning minority employment.

A substantial part of the problem may be that despite large Negro membership, industrial union leadership is nearly lily-white. As noted above, the UAW is ahead of most other unions in the awarding of policy-making positions to blacks. But until 1962 Reuther took the position that Negroes must warrant election on their own merits, implying support for the notion that lack of qualification was the reason for segregated leadership. In 1962, Nelson Jack Edwards was elected to the executive board as a member at large, a position especially created with the understanding that it would go to a Negro. But the position of the Steelworkers union was made clear by Vice President Molony:

> . . . the election of an officer to this union because of his color, would be a contradiction in the basic theme of the civil rights movement, that people should be judged, hired, or elected on the basis of their ability.

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What is overlooked is that race consciousness is necessary to overcome past discrimination, and that since Negroes have been deliberately held back, they must now be deliberately promoted to leadership positions and placed on the "slate." (In fairness to the Steelworkers, it should be pointed out that a Negro candidate lost out this year in Baltimore, where blacks constitute from 30 to 40 per cent of the vote. Apparently the blacks did not vote in large numbers.) The redrawing of district lines into smaller territories, or the election of more than one executive board member from each particular region, would help achieve a more racially balanced representation at the top level. This would be preferable to the selection of a member at large lacking his own constituency and possessing little independence. One of the Ad Hoc Committee organizers said: "We believe that there will be an explosive situation in the United Steelworkers of America so long as [President] Abel is unable to appoint and we are unable to elect a member to the board."

Unlike their industrial counterparts, the craft unions' bête noire has always been job access for minority groups. While the Workers' Defense League has been able to prepare Negro youngsters for apprenticeship tests in New York City with a fair amount of success, thus breaking down old barriers in unions like the Sheet Metal Workers, progress has not been astounding. Only twenty minority group plumber apprentices in the entire country were recruited through the Department of Labor-sponsored Outreach programs from January 1967 through October 1968, although the numbers for such exclusionary crafts as Iron Workers, Sheet Metal Workers and Electricians are slightly more encouraging. As UAW staffer Horace Sheffield said last year about integration in the Detroit building trades: ". . . at the present pace it will be somewhere around 2168 before Negroes achieve their full equality in most of the apprenticeable trades."

Curiously, it is the Nixon Administration, pilloried by the black community for its equivocation in other areas, which seems to have put the bite on the building trades more firmly than ever before. Although a federal district judge in Ohio had ruled two years ago, in *Ethridge* v. *Rhodes*, that contractors must circumvent contractual hiring obligations to unions which do not refer Negroes, and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance had required "manning tables" of Cleveland contractors, showing the number of minority group workers on the job, the labor movement resisted this approach as "piles of nonsense and illegal." And on November 29, 1967, in a speech to the Building and Construction Trades Department, former Secretary of Labor Wirtz said that the Cleveland plan should not be extended to other cities. Said Wirtz: ". . . it isn't right as a general policy, and it won't work. Even if it drags someone who worships his prejudices into line, it demeans somebody else who has done the right thing for the right reason." This is what the unions wanted to hear, and in February 1968 Secretary Wirtz reiterated his position. C. J. Haggerty, president of the Building and Construction Trades Department, promised that he would try to get his craft locals into line on the race issue.

However, the relationship with the Department of Labor has not been nearly so warm during the past few months. On June 27 Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur Fletcher announced the Revised Philadelphia Plan, a more vigorous attempt to bring minority-group workers into the better paying trades. According to a UPI dispatch, the Building and Construction Trades Department im-

mediately labeled the plan "unworkable," encouraging "harassment" and contrary to previous "understandings" with the Department of Labor. Senators Dirksen and McClellan claimed that it was an unlawful quota system under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

What Secretary Fletcher has done is devise a program which simply takes into account the fact that only .5 per cent of the membership of covered unions in Philadelphia is black, although the city has a substantial Negro population, and that this is in large part attributable to past exclusionary practices of the crafts. The Revised Philadelphia Plan requires contractors doing business with the government to accede to a "definite standard" of minority employment in seven of the better paying trades. The plan cannot be regarded as embracing an ironclad "quota," because it makes use of flexible criteria in determining the standard: (*1*) the current extent of minority group participation in the trade; (*2*) their availability for employment in the trade; (*3*) the need for training programs in the area, and/or the need to assure demand for those already existing; (*4*) the impact of the program upon the existing incumbent labor force. The success of the plan will obviously depend upon how enthusiastically it is administered. But what has upset the building trades especially is Secretary Fletcher's announcement that this concept will soon be extended to other urban centers.

One other cockpit of controversy is the Model Cities Act of 1966 which proposes to expand job opportunities and housing for residents of the urban ghettos. To date, it has only succeeded in encouraging resort to "black unions" in cities like Boston, Detroit and Cincinnati. The

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government's involvement here has thus far not had the smack of firmness. The Model Cities Agreement for the Boston area, which was announced in September of 1968, does not assure the Negro "trainee" that he will eventually receive a journeyman's card in the craft. After the project is completed the Negro worker is back in the cold, perhaps even further embittered because of his personal acquaintance with the job opportunities denied him. And, as Herbert Hill, labor secretary for the NAACP, stated last December: "No provision is being made for giving contracts to the Negro-owned construction companies who employ the majority of black building craftsmen who are denied membership in the construction unions."

It is possible, however, that the Revised Philadelphia Plan is just the beginning, and that the craft unions are in more trouble than they now realize. Lawsuits filed throughout the country will undoubtedly challenge the relevance, to the work that is actually performed, of their apprenticeship and journeyman examinations. And even if one accepts the protestations by the craft unions that they are now welcoming blacks into the fold, past exclusions (whether of a formal or father-son variety) make the low age requirements for entry into the trade not only arbitrary but also discriminatory. Consequently, there are a large number of Negro males who may be interested in the trade but are now excluded because they are in their middle or late 20s.

But it is not only the excluded black who is upset with the craft unions. Astronomically high construction wage increases fan the fires of inflation and make housing for both poor and middle-income people exceedingly costly. Industrial unions like the UAW are beset by rebellion among their skilled workers due to the growing gap between factory and construction wages. In seven Ohio cities, unionized factory workers are averaging $3.70 an hour, while electricians, plumbers and iron workers are earning $7.25 to $7.56 per hour.

All this may eventually lead not only to mass-produced housing employing Negro workers at factory wages —the type which HUD Secretary Romney is pushing for —but also to increased governmental supervision of the number of employees entering the craft and the length of the apprenticeship program. Indeed, the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit has already required the unions to revise their apprentice estimates which were completely out of line with labor market requirements. (*Heat and Frost Insulators* v. *Vogler.*) This would benefit whites as well as blacks who are denied access, since unions have kept the supply of labor low to drive up wages and to guard against unemployment. Hardly anything strikes more directly at what the craft unions cherish as their prerogative.

Today's essential lesson for both the craft and industrial unions is that without a quick move on their part to integrate the racial minorities, government will intervene in what has passed for collective bargaining. This applies to hiring halls, seniority systems and apprenticeship standards; all these institutions are bound to be badly shaken. It would seem that the unions would be better off if they did the job themselves; but only a small number of trade unionists seem interested in that kind of argument.

Minority Power Through Unions

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Pressure is building up in the ranks of the 1.5 million Negro members of trade unions, the usual manifestation being the emergence of black caucuses. In addition, independent, and as yet small, black unions are being organized in many sections of the nation. The implicit explosion confronts the trade union leadership with one of its most difficult problems, and one which it seems least equipped to handle well.

The Negro unrest has grown largely unnoticed, but recently a series of incidents has directed wider attention to it. There have been wildcat strikes, mostly abortive and self-defeating, in auto plants. A large minority of black workers petitioned for an election in the Transport Workers Union in New York. More than 4,000 of the 17,000 Negroes in a 27,000-member local have indicated a willingness to form an independent union. Quite surprisingly, the 100,000-member District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store workers left its parent body on the ground that the national leadership is "lily-white" (it is; no Puerto Rican or Negro holds a top position).

In the middle of July, more than 300 delegates from steel union locals all over the country held a conference at Gary, Ind., to push for more black power in a union that has nearly 200,000 Negro members, none of whom holds a policy-making position. The keynote speaker was Herbert Hill, a labor secretary of the NAACP, whose efforts to break down labor's discriminatory practices, notably in the building trades unions, have made him anathema to most AFL-CIO leaders. Many unions forbid the formation of caucuses, except for brief moments before elections, but a new nation-wide black caucus calling itself the National Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Negro UAW members has met in Detroit with Walter Reuther—whose door, unlike those of many labor leaders, is open. There are black caucuses in the Teachers union. In both Chicago and Detroit more than 35 per cent of

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the teachers are black and they are becoming aware of their political potential.

The new element in these controversial developments is that, for the first time in modern trade unionism, Negro activists operate from a social base of growing strength. When A. Philip Randolph was conducting his innumerable fights against the racist practices of the AFL hierarchy he represented the tiny Pullman porters union, which lacked impressive economic or political strength. But today in the steel and auto unions, for example, more than forty key local unions are largely or completely run by elected black officials. And in the growing white-collar unions of the cities, as well as in the federal system (notably the Postal Employees), the work force may soon include a majority of Negroes and members of other minorities. The AFL-CIO Laborers' Union has important black-dominated locals. In New York, the increase of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in the garment and clothing industries and the city-wide flickerings of political discontent promise trouble.

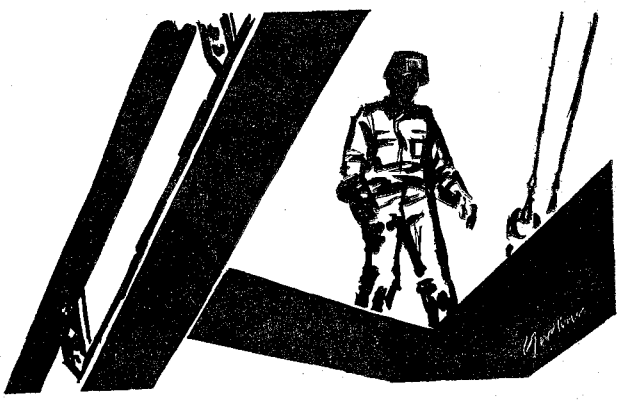
The building trades are the most critical area. Forgetting for the moment the many lawsuits that have been brought against these unions, the rise of black unions like the Independent Alliance of Skilled Crafts of Ohio, the United Community Construction Workers of Boston, the United Construction and Trades Union in Detroit, the Maryland Freedom Labor Union, to mention a few, present an issue of different proportions than do small white independent unions with no power base in society. The cry for breaking down segregated local unions loses some of its meaning in this context: the social composition of the work force, not formal policies, may soon determine the character of many local unions.

Impressive evidence of what black workers can do was the recent decision of Governor Rockefeller to hold up construction of a large office building on 125th Street in Harlem when it became evident that at least a part of the community was opposed. The future of Model Cities programs, or low-cost housing, or indeed any construction, is dubious until a much larger percentage of black workers is accepted into the building trades. The existing apprentice programs sponsored by pro-union groups like the Workers Defense League, or the efforts of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, are hopelessly inadequate.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, a third of whose 115,000 members are either Negro or Puerto Rican, spoke the hard truth when he said: "Let's not kid ourselves. They don't like us in the black community. We have to make a determined analysis why this is so and then do something about it. Labor may be doing as much as other groups but that isn't enough. We're supposed to be a friend of the underdog."

However, there has been progress. The work of Leon Davis' Local 1199 among hospital workers, culminating in the Charleston strike, suggests the potential for unionism under sound direction, as did the Memphis garbage workers' strike, which coincided with Martin Luther King's assassination. Cesar Chavez has given the "Chicanos" of California a sense of organization heretofore largely unknown. However, some insight into the extraordinary difficulties that arise when racial problems are injected into the union movement may be gathered from the experience of those agricultural workers. Chavez himself has discussed his own suspicions of organized labor, noting how long it took him to decide on a pro-union course. The suspicion among Negroes is perhaps even greater, and when one notes how limited were the manpower and financial resources given the Chavez union for the task it faced (and still faces), it begins to seem unlikely that the AFL-CIO hierarchy will soon change its stodgy ways.

The disposition of most union leaders to discount the upsurge among Negro union members, or the creation



of independent unions, as "black chauvinism," dual unionism, or "New Leftism," is self-deceptive and self-defeating. Of course, these factors are to be found in one degree or another in some of the political struggles within and around the union movement; but they are no more decisive than were the same motives when the AFL-CIO was attempting to suppress A. Philip Randolph's efforts to create the Negro American Labor Council a decade ago.

In fact, one of the main reasons for the emergence of the separatist or exclusively black caucus tendencies has been the resistance of the union executives to a growth of the NALC that would have given Negro and other minority workers an appealing sense of direction. The once effective Detroit affiliate of the NALC, called the Trade Union Leadership Council, spent almost as much time countering the attempts made to destroy it as it did in breaking down job and political discrimination against Negroes. Its leaders, Horace Sheffield and Robert Battles III, were denounced repeatedly as dual unionists and black chauvinists.

Since NALC activists were primarily staff people, they were susceptible to persistent bureaucratic pressure and were unable to give the movement a mass base of the kind that the very size and composition of the work force is now creating for black militant unionists. Today, local unions offer them such attractive opportunities that

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sharing the power or taking it over is an unavoidable goal. In the early days of the CIO Negroes were usually trained and pushed ahead by radical groups; they were dependent on the white structure. Now Negroes have emerged on their own and stand upon their own mass base. It makes a significant difference.

The young black "revolutionists" have been excluded from most of these developments. Their function has been to raise issues, but their activities have been largely ineffective. The National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce may become exercised about the proposals of the New Left to revolutionize both white and black workers, and these do provide a useful target for labor bureaucrats who prefer "to save the union and the country from revolution" rather than to solve the problems pointed out by the Left. Sporadic incidents make headlines, and cause irritations, but they are not the main thrust of the new movement among Negro union members. Branding as Uncle Toms all Negro unionists who are not with them 100 per cent may satisfy the needs of revolutionary rhetoric, but it will have no permanent effect.

Yet if present developments within and around the trade unions should make them more effective instruments of social protest, then perhaps progress can take the direction of organized and effective struggles and not fall prey to the anarchy of frustrated and despairing young blacks. It would be a welcome change in the current dismal American scene.

Labor and Foreign Policy

RONALD RADOSH

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At the end of July, George Meany vehemently denied Sen. J. William Fulbright's assertion that the AFL-CIO had received $33 million in contract payments as a "payoff" for its support of the war in Vietnam. But Meany's explanation, that money received was "used to carry out the foreign policy of the United States Government," pointed up the actual role played by American labor unions abroad.

This role is not a new one for American organized labor. The "labor statesman" has become such an accepted part of our way of life that all post-World War II administrations have received unswerving loyalty from the AFL-CIO leadership. Indeed, the virtually universal acceptance of cold-war diplomacy in American political life has been reinforced by the active support at home and abroad of the American labor movement. This support began during the periods of the First World War and the Bolshevik revolution, when the labor leadership's backing of State Department policy was for the first time actively sought by government leaders, in exchange for concessions offered the AFL.

During the first Russian Revolution, in March 1917, American labor entered the stage of world diplomacy. Conventional diplomats found themselves unsuited to deal with the Russian Socialists and they turned to labor leaders in the United States for help in executing administration policy. Woodrow Wilson promptly appointed both a labor leader and a pro-war Socialist to Elihu Root's commission to Russia, sent for the purpose of helping the new Russian Government stay in the war. AFL Vice President James Duncan, and the noted Socialist intellectual Charles Edward Russell, accompanied the mission and propagated administration policy in the name of unionism and socialism.

Woodrow Wilson came to put high value on the service that could be offered his administration by labor leaders. From Samuel Gompers' standpoint, the AFL activity meant not only new acceptance for trade unionism but direct concessions in the form of contracts with firms engaged in war production which accepted union standards of wages, hours and working conditions. When World War I broke out, Gompers and his associates rushed to support the war effort and the Allied cause.

Having obtained AFL support for the war effort, Wilson hoped to use bona fide AFL union leaders to influence the policies of highly critical British and French labor leaders, and exclusively American labor missions were sent to wartime Europe. Gompers himself traveled to Britain, France and Italy during the summer of 1918, to warn European laborers against any leaders with a pacifist, Socialist or "pro-German" bias.

Then, as now, the American labor leaders often took a position more militant than that adopted by their own government. Wilson's closest ideological allies in Europe were the moderate Socialists; British Labour Party chieftain Arthur Henderson, for example, sought to unite the Allied Left behind the Wilsonian program, believing it would undercut the strength of the old-world imperial governments. Henderson counted on Wilson to enforce a

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just peace, and to curb the imperial appetites of men like Lloyd George and Clemenceau.

But Gompers would not come to terms with the European social democrats, and he balked at Henderson's offer of cooperation in the rebuilding of the old Socialist International as a pro-Wilsonian organization. Gompers' presence in Europe had the effect of weakening Wilson's major supporters and strengthening the Allied Right, as he continually sought to isolate the moderate's position within the European labor movements. His policy also estranged the AFL from Allied labor. War-weary European workers wanted a quick end to the war, negotiations with "enemy" labor leaders, a democratic peace, and repudiation of their own conservative governments. They were not about to adopt business unionism domestically, and to work for an all-out military victory and a dictated peace. Gompers' insistence that they pursue such a course only reinforced their view that the AFL was a half century out of date.

While European labor was dissatisfied with the wartime role played by the AFL, the Wilson administration had the satisfaction of seeing the American labor movement act as its agent abroad. Although Gompers may have weakened the position of Allied Wilsonians, Wilson himself actually preferred to deal with the existing Allied governments, and he was not willing to risk the danger of social revolution that lay hidden beneath the surface of moderate socialism.

Working closely with the AFL leaders and the State Department was a loose group of pro-war Socialists, men who had left the American Socialist Party because of its opposition to U.S. participation in the war. These men began the now common practice of Socialists and ex-Socialists working in collaboration with the State Department or otherwise in furtherance of its programs; thus an occasional echo of social-democratic rhetoric in policy statements. The role of Norman Thomas, who on at least one occasion, worked willingly with the CIA to implement anti-Communist programs in Latin America, was foreshadowed by these earlier compatriots who identified the cause of "freedom" with that taken by the U.S. Government.

Members of the Social-Democratic League (John Spargo, William E. Walling, Charles E. Russell, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Algie M. Simons and others) had allied themselves with Gompers as well as with State. They pledged to work, as SDL member Henry L. Slobodin explained, as Socialists "under the control of the State Department, but otherwise free to use the traditional methods of Socialist propaganda." While Wilson had no liking for their ideology, he understood that Socialists had the best chance of influencing Allied Socialist groups to stay committed to a pro-war course. The "responsible" anti-revolutionary Socialist had become the ally of a conservative American administration. The use of such figures by future administrations was only a continuation of a policy instituted during the First World War.

The contemporary counterrevolutionary efforts of American organized labor were started during World War II, primarily through the mechanism of the Free Trade Union Committee. Created in 1944 to aid European unionists who were part of the anti-Nazi underground, the FTUC concentrated on isolating Communists within the partisan and resistance movements. At the war's end, under the direction of Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown, the FTUC worked to build pro-U.S. unions and to split European labor. A brief look at Irving Brown's work in France reveals the nature of early Lovestone diplomacy.

Viewing events in France as the "key to Western European labor developments," Brown vowed to split and hopefully destroy the major French labor union, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT). To achieve his goal, the AFL worked toward creation of a dual union, formation of which would leave the AFL open to severe condemnation from any good trade unionist, on traditional union grounds. Nevertheless, Brown favored working in such a way "that neither the AF of L nor the comrades in the CGT will be open to justifiable criticism."

The method favored was financial subsidy of an anti-Communist group in the Printer's union, as well as Robert Bothereau's *Force Ouvrière*, through extensive monetary grants by the AFL. To cover up the contributions, which they understood would compromise the AFL, the money was deposited in the account of the Jewish Labor Committee in New York. This group served as a front, and the funds were secretly transferred to the anti-Communist opposition in France. The continual grants were the mainstay of the rather impotent and minuscule opposition groups. Brown admitted that building a dual union was "not a nice way of doing business." But, he explained, European unions could not "be treated with in the same open, direct fashion as in the U.S.A."

Brown succeeded in eventually splitting the CGT. The AFL, he boasted to Jay Lovestone, George Meany and others, had "penetrated every country of Europe." Though Brown built the dual union on the basis of dissatisfaction among French workers with the Communist policy of production and speed-up, he never succeeded in building a meaningful alternative to the CGT. That union, CIO leader John Brophy candidly remarked, still had "the bulk of the organized industrial workers." Creation of the *Force Ouvrière* did not solve the AFL's problems. The *FO* took a position in favor of price cuts, at a time when wage increases were being wiped out due to inflation. In late 1948 Communist demands for wage increases began to win working-class support for the CGT, and even Brown admitted that if he were a French coal miner he would be forced to work with the Communists. Brown, however, viewed all CGT strikes as political efforts to interfere with the Marshall Plan in Western Europe. He willingly took CIA money to break the dock worker strike which interfered with the unloading of U.S. arms at the port of Marseilles.

Having failed to destroy the CGT, Irving Brown offered one final suggestion. Union leaders who had been removed from office because of their support of the Vichy

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occupation regime, Brown asserted, should be restored to leadership positions in the CGT; at the same time, Communists among the union leadership should be removed from office. If they were not, he proposed that the right of trade union representation and collective bargaining rights should be withdrawn from the CGT. To destroy the CGT, Brown advocated an alliance with the proto-Fascists, and wanted the CGT to be outlawed. But since it was still the main representative of French labor, Brown was in effect asking that the French working class be deprived of representation. The AFL leaders were asking for the elimination of any trade union organization which did not give unconditional support to State Department policy.

In Latin America, AFL policy worked to produce similar results. American union leaders seek explicitly to build institutions that can forestall social revolution, to create unions through which the State Department can neutralize working-class support for revolutionary movements. This function is highly appreciated by corporation leaders who work alongside the AFL-CIO in the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). "Businessmen in Latin America have become convinced," writes Enno Hobbing in the official publication of the Standard Oil Company, "that free labor unions are essential to free enterprise." Corporations approve of the unions because the AFL-CIO leaders share the same goals as the corporate executives. Unions "do not generate the waste of wildcat strikes; they are opposed to expropriation; and they are solid bulwarks against extremism in the ranks of labor" (*The Lamp,* Spring 1967).

Often, the AFL-CIO leaders have helped local Latin American dictators establish the very power they later used to crush all trade unions, including their own. George Meany and his associates then propagated the myth that remaining shadow unions, controlled by the local power elites, were legitimate anti-Communist forces, and represented the worker's true interests. Direct agents of the AFL-CIO supported the pro-Batista CTC in pre-revolutionary Cuba; took part in the overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954; played a significant role in the collapse of the Goulart government in 1964 in Brazil; worked to destroy the democratically elected government of Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana; and collaborated with the most conservative forces in the Dominican Republic against the moderate constitutionalist Juan Bosch.

It is no surprise that the major corporation leaders happily work alongside the AFL-CIO in AIFLD. Its purpose, in fact, is to dispel the hostility of Latin American workers toward U.S. corporations. Corporate leaders like AIFLD Chairman of the Board J. Peter Grace work through AIFLD because of general fear that social revolution would sweep away the prerogatives of U.S. investors. "Very high stakes are at issue," Grace emphasized, "because the political, military and economic interests of the United States are affected. Furthermore, the Communist campaign has broadened beyond the stage of attacking American companies alone; it is now concentrating on the very basic system of private enterprise to which the American republics are dedicated." What men like Grace favor is a type of union movement that will not challenge the hegemony of U.S. corporations in Latin America.

It is necessary to ask why American labor leaders developed such a close identification with State Department policy. Unions were formed, after all, to better the economic position of wage earners; no apparent relationship exists between this purpose and U.S. foreign policy. An answer was provided by a labor journalist in the late 1920s. Unions then, Arthur W. Calhoun wrote, emphasized productivity and labor leaders spoke about the "ways and means of increasing output." Calhoun was not enamored of this conservative approach, but saw no other alternative "but for organized labor to go along with triumphant American capitalism in its conquest of the world." Better to be a "side-partner to American business in its march toward the enslavement of the world," he sarcastically commented, "than to take poor chances in a battle with the employers." Calhoun knew that such a course would prove advantageous to the labor leaders, because American capitalism could "easily afford to hand out a continual stream of material benefits" to organized labor "so that social solidarity might be maintained in the face of an unfriendly world."

As unions grew, their leaders accepted the existing corporate political economy, in return for a minor share in the decision-making process and increasing economic rewards for their members. Their purpose was to integrate workers into the existing system, rather than to fashion a lever for changing it. Labor leaders wanted, C. Wright Mills explained, to "join with owners and managers in running the corporate enterprise system and influencing decisively the political economy as a whole." The result then was a "kind of 'procapitalist syndicalism from the top.' "

Union leaders understood that a viable movement would aid a bureaucratized government to win the cooperation of the labor force. To keep the machine functioning smoothly, the corporate leaders required the aid of a state regulated and approved labor movement. When the AFL and CIO merged in the mid-fifties, the old craft federation proved that it was ready to join with the CIO to centralize control over the American working class. Unity was obtained only after the CIO unions had joined the cold-war consensus, and had purged their own internal left-wing opposition. The AFL-CIO has since worked to keep the laborer wedded to the corporate system.

Labor's foreign policy stems from the conservative union movement fashioned by AFL-CIO leaders. Unions are meant to be junior partners of the large corporations, and their leaders seek only those gains acceptable to the system's top leaders; they see the chance for these gains disappearing if they move to challenge corporate foreign policy. Just as U.S. foreign policy itself reflects the domestic organization of the political economy, so indeed does the labor leader's foreign policy reflect the type of

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corporate unionism that has developed in the United States.

Some critics, like Henry W. Berger, suggest that Walter Reuther "could possibly provide a different direction for labor's international activities and also restore a portion of a badly damaged democratic labor tradition." (See "Lovestone, Meany & State: American Labor Overseas," *The Nation,* January 16, 1967.) It is fruitless, however, for hopeful liberals to keep on "waiting for Walter." Reuther's chance to act has already passed. His criticism has been advanced within the framework of existing assumptions, and he has consistently shied away from any basic challenge to the premises of United States foreign policy.

Reuther has shown, rather, that the old CIO leaders have themselves engaged in the battle originally fought by David Dubinsky, Matthew Woll and Jay Lovestone. Because they so completely accepted the aims of U.S. policy, CIO leaders proved as willing to accept economic aid from the Central Intelligence Agency as did the AFL chieftains. Thomas Braden, CIA director of "cultural" activities, revealed in his 1967 *Saturday Evening Post* article that not only had he financially supported Irving Brown but he had also given Victor Reuther of the UAW some $50,000 in $50 bills, to help the Reuther brothers build anti-Communist unions in Germany.

The Braden revelations produced an insulted UAW leadership. Walter Reuther could not deny the charge, though he described it as "incomplete and misleading." At the end of World War II, Reuther sought to explain, "the American labor movement made a great effort to assist in the rebuilding of the free labor movement in Europe." Reuther did not realize that his subsequent explanation only revealed that he was in agreement with the cold-war consensus.

Since this movement was "weak and without resources and . . . especially vulnerable to Communist subversion," Reuther judged that an "emergency situation" existed. Therefore the UAW reluctantly agreed "on one occasion to the request to transmit Government funds to supplement the inadequate funds being made available by the U.S. labor movement."

Reuther justified the receipt of "Government" (i.e., CIA) funds by his own union. In doing so, he showed that his conception of European labor's postwar needs agreed closely with that of Lovestone and the CIA. Reuther went on to explain that "these monies were merely added to the trade union funds" already being used in Europe to build "education and organizational programs." But Reuther did not discuss the nature of this work, nor mention that funds were made available to only one type of trade union —the acceptable anti-Communist variety.

Had Reuther firmly opposed CIA and administration policy, he could have chosen to make the affair public on his own, especially after becoming a CIO vice president in 1952. He could have used CIA interference with "independent" unions as a basis for waging a counteroffensive. But like George Meany, Reuther completely accepted the premises of cold-war foreign policy, holding that CIA funds were being extended for legitimate purposes. The goal of building U.S.-style corporate unions abroad was shared by both AFL *and* CIO.

Reuther, of course, held tactical differences with Meany on the war in Vietnam. At the December 1965 AFL-CIO convention, the draft resolution on Vietnam was modified at Reuther's request to stress labor's support of negotiations. But the resolution argued that a policy of negotiations was the policy of the Johnson administration, and the AFL-CIO proceeded to endorse "all measures the Administration might deem necessary to halt Communist aggression and secure a just and lasting peace." Under the guise of advocating peace negotiations, Reuther permitted the AFL-CIO to give the Johnson administration labor's own version of a Tonkin Gulf resolution. Reuther did claim to stand between what he called "two extreme positions," that of the "appeasers" on the one hand and the hawks on the other. It never occurred to him that insofar as he accepted the premises of the hawks, the tactic of negotiation could easily be made to appear untenable. Within the AFL-CIO, Reuther's moderate position worked to strengthen the hand of "hawk" Meany.

Reuther's more sophisticated and up-to-date anti-communism, which dissents from the old-style Meany version of a monolithic international enemy, is more in line with the attitude of recent administrations. But Reuther's problem, despite formation of the Alliance for Labor Action, is that Administration policy is still based on close liaison with the Meany camp. The AFL-CIO unions, as Senator Fulbright pointed out, receive $5 million per year funneled to them through AID, which has replaced the CIA as financier of union foreign activity. The use of government-supported AFL-CIO bodies, like AIFLD, as vehicles for counterrevolutionary endeavors explains Meany's withdrawal from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The same anti-Communist European unions built up during 1945-50 by Brown and Lovestone now take the Reuther position on a *modus vivendi* with Eastern European nations. Meany undoubtedly prefers to coordinate anti-Communist work entirely through government-supported AFL-CIO institutes, which are securely under control of the Meany-Lovestone-Brown axis.

Since the days of the First World War, American organized labor has supported both the aims and implementation of U.S. foreign policy. Since World War II, this has meant support of the war economy, production for military "defense," and participation in cold-war politics throughout the world. Such a stance is determined by the very nature of corporate unionism. The end of corporate unionism depends, furthermore, upon a critique of corporation capitalism. Until American labor leaders move beyond limited gains that fail to challenge the hegemony of the corporations; until they present the necessity for an alternative to American workers, they cannot be depended upon to make the long overdue reassessment of United States foreign policy in an era of world revolution.

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Labor and Politics

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During the New Deal, the American labor movement substituted, for its traditional voluntarist ideology, a working-class, although non-Socialist, political perspective. This failed to satisfy the radicals of that generation, but it made possible labor's close alliance with liberal groups repelled by the voluntarism of the AFL. By 1930, voluntarism had become so abstract a doctrine, so narrowly concerned with powerful craft-union interests, that the AFL still opposed government-sponsored unemployment insurance in the midst of the depression. Today the labor movement faces a crisis of political belief comparable to that of the 1930s. The working-class ideology developed then is now irrelevant to many of the vital interests of union members. As delegates to the Democratic Party's 1968 national convention, many union leaders had to pass judgment on a war which meant—especially for working people—death, high taxes, inflation and declining real income, and which had exacerbated racial strife and distorted national priorities. Yet most of the labor delegates cast their lot with the policies and the candidate of their patron and ally, Lyndon Johnson.

In three critical respects this situation resembled labor's predicament in the 1930s. First, the vote on the war signaled labor's estrangement from its liberal allies, just as AFL leaders and liberal New Dealers disagreed over the welfare state in the early years of the Great Depression. Second, this estrangement can be traced to inadequacies in the unions' view of national politics. Finally, the unions have an opportunity now, as they did then, to assume an important role in national politics and minimize their differences with liberals and radicals. To do so, they must correctly analyze and forcefully articulate those class interests which unite their members politically. Specifically, organized labor must substitute for a *working-class* interpretation of its members' interests a concern for *consumer* interests which its members share with other citizens. As in the 1930s, this step not only means abandoning familiar, comfortable political categories but overcoming opposition from conservatives within the labor movement and hostility from some radical groups.

Union working-class ideology has emphasized the workers' shared political interests growing out of the job situation. All workers required union representation on the job to curb the arbitrary authority of management; all needed more humane working conditions, a decent income and broader fringe benefits. Extensive political action on behalf of liberal Democratic candidates could therefore be justified to dubious members as protecting and expanding the benefits won through collective bargaining. In economic as well as political life the common enemy was the entrepreneurial class of owners and corporate executives.

Partly because the American labor movement made this commitment to political action during the friendly Roosevelt administration, it came to see government as a potentially valuable ally in the political and economic struggles against employers. And this attitude in particular united organized labor with welfare-state liberals, who considered the economic power of employers, rather than the political power of the government, as the chief danger to human liberty. In fact, they favored governmental coercion as an antidote to the private power wielded by large corporations over the lives and incomes of their industrial workers. Thus the Wagner Act, compelling employers to recognize and bargain with unions, was perhaps the most important example of New Deal reform legislation. (Many observers, of course, believe that increasing reliance on government intervention in the economy tended to induce liberal support for government intervention abroad, from the Marshall Plan to counterinsurgency in Southeast Asia—a policy enthusiastically endorsed by George Meany's AFL-CIO.)

Organized labor has remained committed to these egalitarian welfare-state principles. In Congress, the unions have been by far the strongest lobby this year for significant tax reform—in open opposition to the unadventurous Democratic leadership in the House. And union lobbyists will continue to play a comparable role on other issues, such as the effective protection of Southern black voters. Last fall the unions' campaign apparatus launched a powerful if belated counterattack against sentiment among their members for George Wallace which contributed to Humphrey's late surge. More recently, the unions' substantial organizational resources helped progressive Democrats win special elections in Tennessee and Wisconsin districts long represented by conservatives.

To be sure, the problems of the very poor and of minority groups in the United States do not entirely conform to the working-class model of employer-employee conflict, partly because many in these groups experience semi-permanent exclusion from the work force itself. In some campaigns for social justice for the poor, for example demonstrations against the welfare system, the unions have not been in the vanguard. Moreover, some unions have compiled a sorry record of opposition to the interests of the underprivileged. Not only have these unions resisted admitting minority group members into their ranks but they have opposed new methods, such as prefabricated construction, which might contribute substantially to decent housing.

But such conservative and even reactionary tendencies are simply too weak to determine the course of an economically and socially diverse union movement. On issues like income tax reform, guaranteed annual income and racial justice, the long-term thrust of labor's egalitarian ideology is reinforced by its economic and political in-

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terests. Black and Spanish-speaking workers are already well represented in many industrial and service unions, and they may become an even more important element of the blue-collar work force, where union organization has been most successful. The basic demands of these workers for union recognition involve precisely those principles on which the labor movement's own security is based. Significantly, some important AFL-CIO unions and the UAW-Teamsters' alliance have shown an increasing—if belated—interest in organizing poorly paid black or Spanish-speaking workers in Memphis, Chicago, Charleston and California's central valley.

Politically the major unions, as important elements in the Democratic Party, have recognized their increasing dependence on minority groups in the Northern cities and in the South. Indeed, unions and blacks in the South often have common enemies among the economic elite, giving rise to insurgent political activity among some union leaders despite the racism of certain Southern locals. Significantly enough, the labor-supported Mississippi delegation, finally seated at the 1968 Democratic convention, cooperated with the insurgent anti-Johnson coalition among the convention delegates. In New York City several unions with numbers of black and Puerto Rican members have deserted the Democrat Mario Procaccino for the standard of former Republican Congressman John Lindsay. In short, labor's working-class ideology has taken a position, not of ignoring injustice and inequality but of failing to understand and identify new sources of oppression and exploitation in an increasingly complex social and economic system.

This failure is at the root of the split between labor and liberal Democratic groups, which can be traced back to state and local conflicts of the last decade—long before they had begun to worry over the Vietnamese catastrophe. As a political movement, these liberals first achieved cohesion in response to the eloquent if moderate rhetoric of Adlai Stevenson. This essentially middle-class, issue-oriented, participatory approach to politics—with its growing hostility toward bureaucratic, centralized sources of political power—bothered many leaders of large union organizations. True, unions had cooperated closely with middle-class allies since the 1930s; but the liberals' new political analysis fundamentally troubled union leaders. This analysis directly challenges the key premises on which the unions had rejected voluntarism and embraced a working-class ideology. Elements of the liberals' earlier welfare-state orientation remained, in particular a principled opposition to an American capitalist system which measures progress and achievement by the quantitative standards of increased profit, efficiency and production *without specific concern for the adverse consequences on others in the society*. This preoccupation with sheer economic success produced the oppressive conditions which alienated industrial workers. More recently, liberal critics have begun to argue that capitalism seriously victimized not so much the workers on the job (especially if they were protected by strong unions) but anyone in society without economic power, however indirect his connection with the process of corporate industrial production.

According to the new liberal analysis, this change reflects the growing interdependence stemming from increasing urbanization and technological sophistication. As population densities increase and methods of production come to depend on more numerous skills and functions, each individual becomes increasingly dependent for his life and livelihood on an ever-growing complex of economic and social functions. Every part of society is more vulnerable to the consequences of actions and decisions taken at great distances. This interdependence magnifies the adverse consequences of a single-minded pursuit of economic success.

Vietnam, of course, provides the most tragic example. The pressures by defense contractors for increased economic production created political support for a military policy with catastrophic results for the entire society. But the tendency of industry to pollute air and water, to destroy wilderness and recreational resources, to build highways through parks and historic areas of our cities, presents comparable instances in the domestic sphere. In other cases, the burdens of corporate credit, packaging techniques and problems of consumer safety—from drugs to automobiles—have fallen heavily although not exclusively on lower- and middle-income groups. These have suffered also from the tax burden put on sales and consumers, rather than on production and the corporate elite. Finally, this concentration on efficiency, profits and economic growth has helped create a system from which the very poor are simply excluded altogether, and left to the mercies of an erratic, arbitrary and grossly inadequate welfare system.

Organized labor by no means disagrees with this liberal indictment of corporate capitalism. Indeed, union lobbyists have taken active and even prominent roles on some of the specific issues involved. But these issues—which concern the corporations' relation to their customers rather than their workers—confound the unions' conception of class conflict as the extension into politics of the economic struggle between workers and their employers over income and working conditions. Equally important, they also throw doubt on labor's cherished assumption that union organizations and government agencies are protectors of the class interests of union members.

The conjunction of public and private bureaucracies in

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fostering the war in Vietnam has generated extensive comment, but the military-industrial complex is in fact only the visible embodiment of the intimate cooperation between private business and government throughout American life. In some cases corporations supply goods and services to the government. In others, such as corporate farms or lumber companies, the private firm receives services from the agencies such as the Forest Service or the Extension Service. Often the agency is formally charged with regulating the industry. But in every case, patterns of cooperation emerge to foster particular economic activities, with limited regard for the wider adverse consequences. In part, this cooperation can be traced to the career activities of experts, staffing both the corporations and agencies and often moving from one to the other. As a result, the economic future of many public officials often depends on the success of the industry they are to regulate. The political climate in which these agencies operate pressures them, over the long run, to define their mission—and legitimatize their exercise of political power—in terms of protecting the health of the particular industries with which they deal.

A similar pressure promotes cooperation between private employers and many unions, producing a tacit three-way alliance. Particularly where strong unions have secured relatively high wages, generous fringe benefits and stable employment, many workers come to share an interest in the economic success of their employers. Defense workers have benefited from the growth of the Pentagon budget, despite high costs of the war. And employees of corporations which pollute the environment, manufacture unsafe products, or engage in usurious credit practices will not be directly benefited by reform legislation. To be sure, the Steelworkers union, to take one example, did support the Indiana Dunes National Park project despite the possibly adverse impact that creation of the park might have on steel production and employment, but few unions have applied strong pressure in such situations.

To some critics, this alliance of labor, business and government means the impending eclipse of American workers and their unions as a major force for social progress. But such a development is no more necessary than it was in the early 1930s when the AFL was mired in its voluntarist ideology. *In fact, the shared class interests of union members have much in common with the political goals voiced in the new liberal analysis.* To understand properly these interests and the social-economic situation which has produced them, the labor movement must—as it did thirty years ago—abandon some of the abstractions of its political ideology. Barring such a change, any national organization representing diverse unions and groups of workers is indeed likely to face the loss of its political importance.

The working-class attitudes of the 1930s reflected the common concerns of industrial workers who faced powerful corporations and rampant unemployment without substantial help from the government. Today, however, although workers in particular unions, industries or plants continue to have interests opposed to those of their employers, the *shared* interests of *wage earners taken as a class* have in fact steadily declined in importance. Some of this decline can be traced to the development of powerful trade unions themselves. On the one hand, the protection of workers by the unions is taken as an accepted fact. And as union-management relations have stabilized, conflict over workers' income and management's authority has become relatively routinized. Finally, the decline in hours worked per year and the resulting increase in the importance of leisure time may gradually reduce the significance of all aspects of their jobs to union members.

But the most decisive point is that the increasingly complex differentiation of skill, job and function—which has produced increased interdependence in the society at large—has steadily reduced the similarities in types of working conditions. These changes have in turn reduced the common interests which workers share in their conflict with employers. As a result, industrial unions now must cope with increased tensions between skilled and unskilled workers, and between workers in different departments and skill groups. Similar conflicts of interest have also divided individual unions from one another. Of the whole range of industrial relations issues coming before Congress, only the question of union organization as such, exemplified by the recurrent struggle over right to work laws, still unites union organizations in their Congressional lobbying. And even on this issue not all union leaders seem equally committed.

The labor movement's national political problem therefore is not just that its liberal allies have abandoned earlier welfare-state commitments which coincided so nicely with the unions' working-class ideology. Rather, the unions no longer give voice to issues uniting all of labor, or even a large diverse union like the UAW.

The interests that do unite all union members against the business community involve the adverse effects produced by preoccupation with efficiency, profit and economic growth which also disturb liberals. These issues are of particular concern to wage earners because their greater real income, increasing leisure, and (in most cases) the reduced physical demands of their work have made more psychological and physical energies available for life outside the plant. And these matters are directly affected by the quality of their social and natural environment. To be sure, union members remain tied to specific industries which may engage in practices which play havoc with the rest of society, but the crucial fact is that the workers neither own nor control—*that they exercise no substantial economic authority over*—the firms in which they work.

Their subordinate position means that while suffering like other citizens from the effects of preoccupation with economic growth, workers lack the resources by which the well-to-do can avoid or minimize the adverse consequences. Also, their performance as workers is measured by their ability to follow the directions of their superiors, and not by their efforts to improve efficiency, profitability and economic growth.

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Union members form a major part of the class which is without economic authority, and whose interests are opposed to the growing corps of administrators and managers in private industry and their cooperative allies in public agencies. Many of these officials are personally concerned with the consequences of economic activity, and their corporations equally so with their public images. Nevertheless, corporate and personal success—the proper performance of these executives' economic roles—is measured by standards of growth, efficiency and profits, without regard to adverse effects on employees, customers or others in the society. As a group, then, the union members do share a class interest which places them in opposition to that of their superiors; not as workers in the productive process but as consumers concerned about the effect of corporate innovation on their social and natural environment.

If the labor movement is to remain a major progressive force in national politics, union leaders must now demonstrate to their members that political action will improve their lives as citizens and consumers. In the process labor leaders will have to redefine their movement's political role in ways that will be criticized by some of their conservative colleagues, as well as by radicals outside the movement.

The cautious and often suspicious attitudes of important craft unions toward minority group demands, even the open racism of some locals, are all too familiar and may have contributed to the UAW's withdrawal from the AFL-CIO. But the tacit or even open alliance of some unions with employers who supply the Pentagon or pollute the environment may in the long run prove a more serious obstacle to significant reorientation. Furthermore, some unions have become allied with government agencies, such as boards of education; these alliances of public and private power are not preoccupied with economic growth and efficiency but with maintaining existing bureaucratic routines, prerogatives and privileges, whatever the cost to school children or local community. As in the New York teachers' strike, extreme tension can develop between the unions on the one hand and minority groups and their liberal allies on the other.

Whether the labor movement can surmount these difficulties is not yet clear. What is certain, however, is that only by doing so can it build a viable political alliance with liberals and those radicals who now seek to undo the concentration of power and authority in American society. On the other hand, this tendency, expressed in terms of calls for community control, will not—indeed cannot—extend to the broader communitarian ideals of some contemporary radicals. This communitarian ideology rejects the values of self-interest, specialization, competition and personal conformity which pervade American industrial society. But most union and minority group members seek not to abolish the industrial order but to benefit more substantially from it.

Nor can the call for community control be an unqualified commitment to decentralization on geographic lines. The fight against pollution, for example, is not compatible with neighborhood sovereignty. Similarly, the demand for local autonomy by the white South and comparable demands by certain white neighborhoods in the North speak for themselves.

Rather, the appeal to community control is but one call for the fundamental restructuring of economic and political power within the industrial order, to permit wider participation. Unions can share this goal, and if they do they will have a substantial impact on consumer-class politics. Paradoxically, because they accept rather than seek to abolish industrial society, unions command financial resources unequaled by other consumer-oriented organizations. Up to now, these funds have been a major asset to the coalition which continues to support welfare-state legislation in Congress. But whether they can be thrown into the struggle for a decent society, animated by a much broader vision, remains the labor movement's challenge in the coming decade.

SDS in the Mills

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS
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Early this summer the newspaper of the local union representing the workers at the sprawling U.S. Steel Corporation complex at Fairless Hills, Pa., issued a warning about the "work-in" which Students for a Democratic Society had announced for industry.

"Their purpose is to infiltrate industry this summer, cause trouble, and disrupt operations. Their plan includes sabotage," declared the *Fairless Union News*. Other warnings, coming from top spokesmen of industry, labor and law enforcement, suggested a movement at least comparable to the May 1968 revolt in France, where a worker-student alliance almost toppled the government.

The Commerce and Industry Association called 250 businessmen and plant managers together to discuss ways to combat both urban and plant "guerrilla warfare." Many words were devoted to the expected on-the-job confrontations with some of the largest affiliates of the AFL-CIO, including the Machinists, Carpenters and Communication Workers. There was a special message from J. Edgar Hoover, urging union members to "be alert to the machinations of these youthful extremists." The SDS, the FBI chief added, had "left a bitter wake of arson, vandalism, bombings and destruction across the nation."

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Even though most SDS activists are now returning to campus, it is premature to make any long-range assessment of the "Summer Work-In" other than the obvious: that their establishment foes overreacted. Yet one cannot ignore the organization's effort to rally American workers to an unlikely revolutionary alliance, for this was the ideological issue which caused its factional mitosis in Chicago.

In the history of the American Left there may be no parallel to such factional fratricide concerning a sector of society which could not have cared less, with the possible exception of the followers of Daniel DeLeon in their

glorified isolation from the trade unions. The great debate between the classical Marxists, who argued that the worker is the vanguard of revolution, and the pragmatists, who claimed that the working class is now middle class, was about as relevant to American workers as the affluent origins of most of those passionately involved in the debating.

Despite their apparent political sophistication, there seems to exist, in those who project grandiose worker-student schemes, an extreme social and economic naiveté regarding the attitudes of the white union member. The reasons may be both generational and intellectual: the activists' privation is not economic, as was that of both the old Left and unorganized workers thirty years ago but spiritual, despairing that there can be any future apart from radical change.

"We don't think the SDS is made of the stuff of which the Commies were made a generation ago," commented one labor paper. "Those were real working-class stiffs. The SDS is only made up of arrogant, big-mouthed, so-called intellectual bumpkins. They never toil, just look for trouble."

More to the point is what a UAW union representative told *The Wall Street Journal*. "These students refuse to camouflage their educations," he said (as a 21-year-old college graduate, he had organized workers while concealing his student background). "They want to flaunt the fact that they are student radicals. They are trying to bring their politics to the labor movement instead of coming with open minds." Yet the *Journal* also reported the case of a student militant who declared himself a Communist at a lunch-hour confrontation, and despite continuing hostility, reported that none of his fellow workers had "finked" on him to management and that it was still possible for him to engage in long political discussions with many of them.

Thus are "victories" measured in the work-in. Significantly, however, there have been scattered instances of legitimate worker-student alliances, largely the results of local situations involving common goals and grievances. One of the more interesting occurred months before the work-in manual was disclosed.

Last February, while nearby San Francisco State was shut down by student militants, striking members of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers at the Richmond, Calif., refinery of the Standard Oil Company worked out an informal alliance with both student and teacher strikers: as many as 400 students participated in picket lines at the refinery, and perhaps half as many workers responded by walking the lines at the college. The alliance subsequently prompted the sympathetic attention of the Central Labor Council to the "legitimate grievances" of students and faculty at San Francisco State.

And when Madison police tear-gassed the "student ghetto" in that University of Wisconsin community last spring, a sequence of events occurred which also had no relationship to the work-in. Recalling an earlier sympathy march on City Hall by university students backing their requests for a pay increase, Madison firemen refused to "cool off" graduate students who had taken to the streets for a block party without a permit. The firemen's union also backed students on their off-campus housing gripes, and two graduate student members of the City Council fought successfully for parity of fireman and police pay rates.

Again, hundreds of Columbia University activists motored to the Mahwah, N.J., Ford Motor Company plant last spring to join a largely black wildcat strike evolving from accusations of assembly-line discrimination. Other incidents have been less dramatic, but more spontaneous in origin than SDS's efforts. They have ranged from the aid of Harvard students to striking linen delivery truck drivers in Cambridge (including the seizure of a strikebreaker's truck and "liberation" of his linen on the street), to the assistance given wildcatting West Virginia miners by University of West Virginia students, in their campaign against "black lung."

The fundamental move called for in the work-in, however, involved the student's removing himself from his intellectual environment and privileged role in society to become a part of the country which is common, forgotten,

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alienated; working in a factory or mill which requires discipline, a strong sense of goals "and adjustment to boring, repetitive and often dangerous work" (see "SDS: Between Reform and Revolution," *The Nation,* June 10, 1968); living in a neighborhood of frame houses overlooking the belching steel mills, and confining his social experience to corner taverns or bowling alleys in that gray glob somewhere between slum and suburb.

Even if the student-workers who have penetrated the perimeters of plant security and union suspicion seek only a toehold for their organizing cadre, it is unlikely that they can identify with workers of their own or an older generation. Their latent contempt for the lower middle class will betray them. And according to Brendon Sexton, they will discover that union members will not "mount the barricades with the swiftness and pleasure of student rebels or black militants," for they have "learned a hard lesson after almost a century of fierce blood-letting on the picket line: that combat is the last, not the least resort."

The work-in never came off on the Detroit assembly lines, in the Pittsburgh steel mills, or in any other significant industrial location this summer because its advocates do not recognize that the American worker, "even when he waits on a table or opens a door," as Michael Harrington says, "is not servile; he does not carry himself like an inferior . . . they have been the source of rudeness, contemptuous ignorance, violence—and of a creative self-confidence among great masses of people." It was in this latter spirit that the CIO was born and the black freedom movement marched; continued contempt for this history will prove to be a poor seedbed in which to plant broad alliances—and further evidence that student radicalism removed from its own environment is a political bust.

HARRY GOLDEN

The sanitation workers in Charlotte went out on strike a little while ago.

A sanitation strike is a desperate strike. First of all, the folks these days are almost buried under the avalanche of garbage when all the sanitation men are working overtime; festering garbage cans, rotting piles of refuse do little to generate any public sympathy. Second, and always important, the majority of sanitation workers in the South are invariably colored men, at least on the maintenance level. Colored men who go on strike generate less sympathy than garbage men on strike.

It was a sanitation workers' strike which had gone through protracted and fruitless negotiations that had brought Dr. Martin Luther King to Memphis and his assassination. Lastly, people these days don't care about strikes. Everybody is working. The teachers and the firemen and the sanitation workers strike to create vast public inconvenience. They want to win their strike on muscle. When colored workers count on muscle, it is a dangerous situation.

But Charlotte's strike was quickly negotiated when Mr. Jim Pierce, the union leader, paraded down Tryon Street, arm in arm with Rev. George Leake, the colored minister, behind the picketing garbage men.

Admittedly, Charlotte is a cosmopolitan city. Its citizens can understand that garbage men want to send their children to college. It can understand the federal laws for a minimum wage. City folk hate garbage more intensely than anyone in Tennessee.

But there is another truth here. The solidarity of workingmen has been the most effective union tactic since the invention of guilds. What made the city authorities move quickly was the display of white and black solidarity.

One of the first race riots in America took place in Chicago in 1919; it was a genuine race riot where whites killed unarmed blacks and blacks killed unarmed whites. One of the men who covered this riot was Carl Sandburg, then a reporter for the *Chicago Daily News.* A week before the violence flashed, Sandburg's editor had assigned him to a story about the races in postwar Chicago. Once the rocks started to fly, Sandburg commented that everyone was much more interested in the war than in the cause which made it break out.

Neither the police nor the National Guard quelled the riot in Chicago. What dissipated the war was the solidarity of the union stockyard men, white and black, who paraded together to show that whites and blacks in some areas held a common interest.

A year later Sandburg published a small book which Walter Lippmann prefaced describing the situation in Chicago which bred this violence. World War I and the cruel poverty of the South which sent thousands of Negroes to the city, had provided the causes and Sandburg saw no way of reversing them. But as for the effects, he prophesied that the unions held the key to racial peace. Let us say, today it is the workingman. Once the white workingman realizes that he has a common cause with the black workingman, many tensions can be resolved, as they were in Charlotte. Our problem is that the ordinary workingman, who is made to share the brunt of integration, does not realize that realty values are dependent upon the hourly wage.

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The Radical Goad

MELVYN DUBOFSKY
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Ghosts haunted the tragicomic 1969 Chicago national convention of the Students for a Democratic Society. Inside the decrepit Coliseum, the under-30 generation of American radicals roasted one another. Outside, amid the reporters, local undercover police and FBI agents, a tiny cadre handed out leaflets proclaiming: "Tired of people throwing red books at each other? Tired of the old rhetoric? Come breathe a breath of fresh rhetoric!" And when the SDSers split into a Progressive Labor Faction (Maoists) and a National Office faction, the leaflet bearers invited those dissatisfied with both factions to move uptown to N. Halsted Street, there to meet America's true anarchists, libertarians and independent revolutionaries.

At 2422 N. Halsted, above a run-down Syrian restaurant which occupies the first floor of a two-story brick building, stands the national headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Inside, the look and smell of the past are everywhere, from the vintage pre-World War I furnishings to the portraits of IWW martyrs Joe Hill and Frank Little that mutely observe their present-day Wobbly descendants. Yet it was only sixty-four years earlier that the precursors of the occupants of the hall on Halsted Street had convened in Chicago to found the IWW and to proclaim the end of capitalism in America.

Created in 1905, the same year that revolution rocked Czarist Russia, the IWW was born in a burst of optimism. It had, or so it seemed, achieved the impossible, uniting the ordinarily disputatious factions and personalities of the American Left. At the convention Eugene Debs and Daniel DeLeon, the mutually antagonistic leaders of the divided wings of American socialism, joined forces; Lucy Parsons (wife of the Haymarket martyr) and anarchist Albert Parsons shared the rostrum with Western trade union leader William D. "Big Bill" Haywood; Mother Jones of coal miners' strike fame and Father Thomas J. Hagerty, a Catholic priest defrocked for his decision to become a Marxist revolutionary, blended voices in the singing of the *Marseillaise*. Having united such diverse groups and individuals in one radical organization, why shouldn't the IWW be able to transform American society?

But from the moment of its birth the new organization led a perilous life. Internal dissension at times paralyzed it; secessionist movements absorbed its largest affiliates and the bulk of its members; and private employers and public officials recurrently threatened its total destruction. Less than two decades after its birth, the IWW had withdrawn into what writer Dan Wakefield characterized as "haunted halls." And there it remained, occasionally coming out, as it did during the SDS convention, to remind America that the Wobblies who were celebrated in fiction and folk song still lived.

It had been quite otherwise from 1909 to 1919. Then, U.S. Presidents and Cabinet officials, the Army and the Navy, governors, mayors, employers and ordinary citizens lived in dread of the terrible Wobblies. The unwashed, unshaved, sabotage-practicing Wobbly supplanted the bearded, bomb-carrying anarchist in the fevered public imagination. During World War I the IWW member ranked with the Hun and the Bolshevik as a clear and present danger to national security. The Wobblies helped bring on A. Mitchell Palmer's Red Scare of 1919-20, and were also its most notable victims. What, then, made the IWW so feared, and why were Wobblies considered the major threat to "law and order" in America?

Reasons for the official and the popular reaction to the IWW are not hard to find. Like today's radicals, the Wobblies cast unsought light on dark spots in an otherwise bright landscape. Wobblies despised the "power structure" (which they referred to as "The Iron Heel"), derided "bushwa" mores, lampooned middle-class religiosity, and often confronted established authority with nonviolent direct action. They also preached power and promised revolution, instigating riots and violence. And they practiced an anti-organizational, almost anarchistic brand of radicalism; while one could perhaps discover the national office's position on an issue, one could never be sure what individual Wobblies might or might not do.

Although the IWW's radicalism resembles that of today, its sources were considerably different. Wobblies must be understood as members of the first American generation to experience the full implications of life in an urban-industrial society. Theirs was a time when poverty was commonplace, and economic and social insecurity plagued the working classes. Their society bore more resemblance to the type Oscar Lewis describes in his studies of the "culture of poverty" than to the American welfare-warfare state of the 1960s. There was a persistently high rate of unemployment and underemployment for the unskilled; wages were low; there were few social, political or economic organizations to shield the working classes from the worst shocks of industrialism; and the whole society believed in the accumulation of wealth and property and in upward mobility through thrift, and attributed low economic status to personal inadequacy. It was a society that had no room for workers whose skills were obsolete because of technological innovation; no place for blacks, emancipated by law but denied the means to make their emancipation real; little respect for European immigrants, drawn to the land of promise only to dwell in urban slums and to work in dark mills. Existing within or on the fringes of America's "subcultures of poverty," these groups experienced the life Lewis characterized: ". . . family disruption, violence, brutality, cheapness of life, lack of love,

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and lack of education." It was to those individuals at the bottom of the social and economic ladder that the IWW appealed, and it was among them that Wobblies hoped to muster the shock troops of revolution.

The IWW's following consisted largely of individuals who had not yet made peace with industrial society. Those workers who had come from a preindustrial into an industrial society felt uprooted, torn from an old, ordered and comprehensible way of life. An early labor economist, Carleton Parker, described the West Coast IWW migrant workers as floaters, men without homes, sharing lives of brutality and degradation. The violence that started on the dreary farms from which they fled or in the dismal coal mining villages they escaped, followed them through the debasing experiences associated with migrant work and on to the debilitating life of the winter unemployed.

The IWW tailored its ideology—and its tactics—to fit the needs and status of its followers. It promised them "the only social break in the harsh search for work . . . its headquarters the only competitor of the saloon in which they are welcome." Rexford Tugwell once observed that it promised America's dispossessed "a ready-made dream of a new world, where there is a new touch with sweetness and light, and where for a while they can escape the torture of forever being indecently kicked about."

How did the IWW propose to lift its members out of poverty into a new world? Its method was neither that of the American Federation of Labor nor of the Socialists. Wobblies derided trade union welfare systems as "coffin benefits" and AFL officials as the labor lieutenants of capitalism. After all, IWW members simply could not afford the initiation fees and dues required to sustain "business unionism," and as members of the "culture of poverty" they needed self-discipline more than the counsel of professional, bureaucratic officials. Wobblies might vote Socialist, but they had little patience for the debates and intrigues of what they styled as "parliamentary slowcialists" and realized that most of the workers whom they organized were more concerned with affairs at the factory than the ballot box.

"Any movement which organizes and gives hope to the poor, and effectively promotes solidarity and a sense of identification with larger groups," writes Oscar Lewis, "destroys the psychological and social core of the culture of poverty." This is precisely what the IWW sought to do, constantly teaching its members class consciousness, organization and solidarity, stressing their power and importance.

One word—power—expressed the IWW ideology. Jack London, in his novel *The Iron Heel,* put better than any IWW leaflet the Wobbly concept of power. Responding to a capitalist who had just given him a lesson in *Realpolitik,* Ernest Everhardt, London's fictional Haywood, rejoins: "Power. It is what we of the working class preach. We know and well we know by bitter experience, that no appeal for right, for justice, for humanity, can ever touch you. . . . So we have preached power. Power will be the arbiter," Everhardt proceeds, "as it has always been the arbiter. . . . We of the labor hosts have conned that word over till our minds are all a-tingle with it. Power. It is a kingly word." Who held power ruled society, the IWW asserted.

The Wobblies' emphasis on power made sense to men who saw naked force—of employers, courts and police—used against them. An IWW pamphlet proclaimed: "It is the law of nature that the strong rule and the weak are enslaved." In the IWW's catechism, neither socialism nor legislation could aid the workers, and they would suffer until they learned to exert power directly.

The IWW's antipathy to political action made sense to its members. Migratory workers moved too often to establish legal voting residences. Millions of immigrants lacked the franchise, as did Negroes, women and child workers to whom the IWW appealed. Daily experience, moreover, verified Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's comment that the state was simply the slugging agency of the capitalists. Hence Wobblies refused to concede that stuffing pieces of paper, even Socialist ones, into a box would transform a basically repressive institution—the state—into one which was humane.

Yet the IWW had to offer its members an alternative to political action. This it saw in a combination of economic power and direct action. Believing themselves better Marxists than most American Socialists, who chose the path of reform politics, Wobblies maintained that political power was but a reflection of economic power, and that

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without economic organizatioin behind it labor politics was "like a house without a foundation or a dream without substance." After organizing the working classes economically, the IWW planned to exert direct action to bring its new society into existence. To the typical Wobbly, direct action included any step taken by workers at the point of production which improved wages, reduced hours, or bettered conditions. It included commonplace strikes, intermittent strikes, silent strikes, passive resistance, sabotage and the ultimate measure of direct action—the general strike—which would displace the capitalists from power and place the means of production in working-class hands.

Emphasis upon direct action in preference to electoral politics represented a profound insight by IWW leaders into the minds of the workers. Abstract doctrine meant nothing to the disinherited; specific grievances meant everything! One Wobbly expressed it this way: "Workingmen on the job don't care a whoop in hell for free love . . . they are not interested in why Bakunin was fired out of the International by Marx . . . nor do they care about the cooperative commonwealth; they want practical organization first, all else after."

So it was that the IWW waged class war from 1909 to 1919 with "obscure Bill Jones on the firing line, with stink in his clothes, rebellion in his brain, hope in his heart, determination in his eye, and direct action in his gnarled fist." In such Western cities as Spokane, Fresno and Missoula, Wobblies showed Bill Jones how authority could be challenged through direct action and passive resistance. Fighting for free speech, taking to the streets in defense of civil liberties, courting arrest, cramming the jails, and paralyzing courtrooms, the Wobblies compelled civil authorities to succumb. Migrant workers, previously powerless, learned that by standing together, refusing to be goaded into violence, and maintaining the constant pressure of direct action in the streets, they could win from public officials and Western employers objectives once thought unattainable.

In the East, the IWW instructed mass-production workers in the realities of industrial unionism, where solidarity prevailed over traditional craft distinctions. Wobbly recruits learned industrial warfare in the manner prescribed by Marxist theorists and educator John Dewey: by doing! The IWW organized, agitated, and advised immigrant industrial workers, but the immigrants themselves led the labor struggles and decided their outcome. When authorities questioned strikers about their leaders, they could indeed respond with one voice: "We are all leaders!"

Bill Haywood expressed succinctly what the IWW accomplished during its best days. "It has," he said, "developed among the lowest strata of wage slaves in America a sense of their importance and capabilities such as never before existed. Assuming control and responsibility of their own affairs, the unorganized and unfortunate have been brought together, and have conducted some of the most unique strikes, fights for free speech and battles for constitutional rights." Which was just what Oscar Lewis would write fifty years later about Castro's impact on the Cuban peasantry who were lifting themselves out of the "culture of poverty."

At its peak during World War I, however, the IWW probably had no more than 100,000 dues-paying members. Still, given the volatility of IWW membership, several millions probably passed through the organization from 1908 to 1919, and millions more were certainly influenced by its nationally publicized struggles for free speech and for improved working conditions. Nevertheless the IWW failed totally in its larger purpose. It never succeeded in transforming America's dispossessed into a revolutionary vanguard in the Marxian sense and, of course, it did not make a revolution in America. Although it survives as an organization today, it is more dead than alive.

The causes of its failure are what should concern today's equally idealistic and cocksure, though more affluent and educated, rebels. Failure came to the Wobblies precisely when they seemed to be most effective and successful. Before and during World War I the IWW established a solid organizational base among migrant harvesters, Western loggers and copper miners. Unfortunately for the IWW, those sectors of the economy proved the most vital when America entered the war in April 1917. Indeed the war, as viewed from Washington, made real the IWW's subversive potentialities. When strikes affected the lumber and copper industries, the IWW felt the full weight of the federal government. The Labor, Justice and War Departments combined to crush the Wobblies; state officials, employers and vigilantes also did their share. Troops were sent West to break strikes; Wobblies were prosecuted in mass federal trials, convicted and sent to Leavenworth prison; employers were urged, with some success, to institute reforms and wean workers away from the IWW. So successful was this wartime repression of the Wobblies that many scholars have seen in it the primary reason for their ultimate failure. Yet it seems that their internal deficiencies were equally responsible for the organization's decline.

The IWW rallied exploited workers behind crusades to abolish specific grievances but it failed to transform its followers' concrete grievances into a higher consciousness of class purpose and necessary revolution. This was so because apart from vague allusions to the general strike and to "building the new society within the shell of the old," it never explained precisely how it would achieve its new society, govern it once established, and then protect it from counterrevolutionary terror.

Even had the IWW discovered a more effective prescription for revolution, it is far from likely that its followers would have taken it. IWW members had limited revolutionary potential. Individuals locked in the "subcultures of poverty" have narrow perspectives on life and society; as Lewis has observed, the main blight of the "culture of poverty is the poverty of its culture." Hence Wobbly recruits tended to think only of the moment and not of the future, only of a better job or more food and not of a distant utopian society. This faced the IWW with an impossible dilemma. On the one hand it was committed to

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ultimate revolution; on the other it sought immediate improvements for its members. Like all men who truly care about humanity, the Wobblies always accepted betterment today at the expense of achieving utopia tomorrow; the leaders' desire for revolution came up against their followers' desire for palpable gains.

Furthermore, it was never decided precisely what kind of structure the organization should adopt. The most capable IWW leaders favored an industrial union structure under which largely independent though not entirely autonomous affiliates, organized by specific industry, would cooperate closely with one another under the supervision of an active general executive board. But many among the rank and file were captivated by the concept of the One Big Union (the mythic OBU) in which workers, regardless of skill, industry, nationality or color, would be amalgamated in a single unit. Incapable of negotiating union-management agreements owing to its protean character, the OBU would be solely the vessel of revolution. Considering the difficulties always involved in organizing the dispossessed, form and structure were of the utmost importance, and remained a problem the Wobblies never resolved.

The IWW also refused to negotiate with employers in the ordinary manner. Its demands were, in current parlance, non-negotiable, and it refused to sign labor contracts that established binding terms for a set time period, or to respect any agreements with employers. As a consequence employers refused to bargain with IWW members. If the Wobblies had had the raw economic power to win concessions without negotiations, their policies might have made some sense. But time and again they challenged powerful employers from behind union fortifications erected on sand.

Its mythology concerning rank-and-file democracy further compounded the IWW's troubles. They were most successful when led by strong individuals such as Haywood, who in 1916 centralized headquarters and ran a taut ship. Too often, however, jealous and frustrated Wobblies, lacking Haywood's ability but desiring his power, used the concept of "participatory democracy" to snipe at the IWW's leaders on behalf of an idealized rank and file. And without firm leadership the organization drifted aimlessly.

Even had the IWW combined the necessary structure, the proper tactics, and experienced capable leaders, its problems might still have proved insurmountable. There is no reason to believe that before the 1930s any of America's mass-production industries could have been organized. Not until World War II was the CIO, with immense financial resources, millions of members and federal encouragement, able to solidify its hold on the mass-production industries.

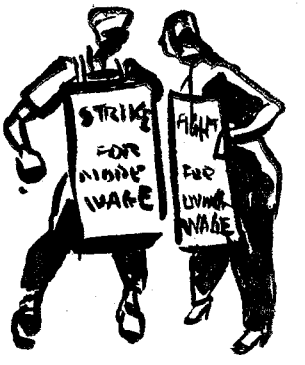
Whatever the IWW's internal dilemmas, the dynamics of American history unquestionably compounded them. In other societies, radicals contended with an established order unresponsive to lower-class discontent and impervious to change from within; the Wobblies struggled against flexible and sophisticated adversaries. The years of IWW growth coincided with the era when welfare capitalism spread and when all levels of government began to exhibit solicitude for the workingman. This process became even more pronounced during the first World War, when the federal government used its vast power to hasten the growth of welfare capitalism and conservative unionism.

Whatever success the Wobblies achieved only stimulated the reform process, for employers who were threatened by the IWW paid greater attention to labor relations, and government agencies encouraged employers to improve working conditions. Indeed, reform ultimately proved a better method than repression to weaken the IWW's appeal to workers.

Those young Americans who practice direct action, passive (or violent) resistance and civil disobedience, and who seek an authentic radical tradition, should find much to ponder in the Wobblies' background. Those who distrust Establishment politics, deride bureaucracies, favor community action and preach "participatory democracy" would also do well to remember the IWW story. Indeed, all who prefer a society based upon community rather than coercion cannot afford to ignore the tragic historical account of the IWW.

The IWW's history affirms the truth of Antonio Gramsci's comment that in advanced industrial societies revolutionaries should take as their slogan: "Pessimism of the Intelligence; Optimism of the Will." It also emphasizes the irony of the radical experience in America and the Western industrial world. As a result of their commitment both to ultimate revolution and to immediate reforms, radicals hastened the emergence of strong labor unions and assisted at the birth of the welfare state. But success produced a working class enthralled with a consumer society and eager to give up working-class consciousness for a middle-class style of life. The final tragedy for all radicals, the American Wobblies included, has been that the brighter they have tried to make life for the masses, the dimmer has grown the prospect for revolution in the advanced nations.

Yet no better epitaph could be written for the prewar American Wobbly than this one composed in 1918 by an imprisoned IWW leader: "The end in view is well worth striving for, but in the struggle itself lies the happiness of the fighter."



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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Labor Movement: Between Two Worlds

THE LABOR REVOLUTION. *By Gus Tyler. The Viking Press. 279 pp. $6.50.*

THE POLITICAL IMPERATIVE. *By Gus Tyler. The Macmillan Co. 306 pp. $7.95.*

LABOR AND THE LEGAL PROCESS. *By Harry H. Wellington. Yale University Press. 409 pp. $10.*

FRANK J. DONNER

Mr. Donner, a frequent Nation *contributor, served as assistant general counsel for the CIO and the United Steelworkers of America and as a supervising attorney for the National Labor Relations Board. He has practiced labor law for the last quarter century and is now general counsel for the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America.*

In an age of change, there is surely no institution in our society which has altered so basically as the trade union. And equally notable, apart from sporadic observations by academics and a handful of disillusioned labor intellectuals, the scope and meaning of the transformation of the trade union have largely been ignored. Moreover, although virtually every important institution in American life—one hardly needs to enumerate them—is being mutinously assaulted from within by its members, clients and victims, the labor union continues in its ancient ways, led by aged, plodding bureaucrats, seemingly immune from an accounting for the difference between what their organizations have become and what they are supposed to be. If there is a tiger at the gates of the labor movement, it is barely visible (in the form of growing rank and file unrest).

How has the trade union changed? This "voluntary association for the mutual aid and protection of its members" can be more particularly viewed as:

¶An instrument for the advancement not only of the immediate, day-to-day interests of its members but also of historic goals of basic change through a labor movement unified by an ideology of class struggle.

¶An agency collectively and democratically clothed with the power to represent its employee-principals in dealing with their employers.

¶A "labor organization" selected by a majority of employees in a "unit appropriate for collective bargaining" as the exclusive bargaining representative of members and nonmembers alike, and with power to bind dissenting employees in the unit.

The last named role of the trade union, a creation of the federal government through the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, is perceptibly replacing all of the other historically evolved models of trade unionism in American industrial life. A variety of circumstances—many of them broadly cultural—are undermining the entire value system of traditional unionism—voluntarism, participative democracy, autonomy and freedom from state control, labor solidarity, long-range political and social goals, and the class consciousness which is the matrix of the entire system.

We are left with a heritage of brave rhetoric, flowery union constitutions, social stereotypes and traditions which are increasingly at odds with the realities. The "one party system" and the "iron law of oligarchy"—with occasional exceptions which merely serve to screen the underlying reality—have made union office a form of permanent (and sometimes hereditary) tenure. Only a dwindling minority attend local union meetings; decision making on basic collective bargaining matters is confined to a small executive group, and union officials tend to regard as treason an occasional revival of the notion that they should be held accountable to the rank and file for their decisions at the bargaining table.

Whether we like it or not, the modern American trade union is more accurately viewed as a service or utility, operated for the benefit of clients or bargaining unit constituents, than as a voluntary association which executes decisions made by the rank and file. The analogy is strengthened by the detailed code of internal regulations promulgated in the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959. The officers of what other "voluntary unincorporated association" in American society are thought to be so impervious to conventional membership controls that they must be treated as fiduciaries, a standard of responsibility which the law imposes to prevent abuses at the expense of a powerless or dependent constituency?

I am not suggesting that there is no longer an overlap or a measure of coincidence between the ethos and practice of traditional unionism and the new unionism, or that even when the transition is fairly complete the ambience of the old does not survive. But what urgently commands our concern is the fact that the trade union, as we have known it, is losing most of the characteristics which, under accepted social theory, distinctively qualified it for a catalytic role in democratic society.

Moreover, the transformation of the trade union has been accompanied by the corruption of its bureaucratic leadership. It is not merely that ever increasing numbers of leaders are charged and convicted of the crimes created by the Landrum-Griffin Act but that personal "respectable" corruption—by affluence—has become pervasive. And as the gap widens between the income, life style and status of the leaders and the membership, the suppression of the mechanisms for change in leadership become more direct and ruthless. In the words of one observer, "The very forces which press for higher rewards of various types for American labor leaders also support and encourage greater restrictions on democratic policies."

The institutionalization of personal rule breeds a peculiarly American form of corruption—employer-collaboration, the pay-off, the sweetheart contract. Prof. Richard Lester has written:

> Personal rule . . . encourages deals (secret understandings in advance or in place of negotiations) between management and union officials. The "deal" which is a fairly well-known phenomenon in American trade union history, is a form of corruption practically unknown to British or South American trade unionism. To the extent that collective bargaining is short-circuited by a side deal . . . the process is really corrupted into a form of collusion, which may lead to some subtle means of personal payoff to the union official involved.

The trade union has severed itself from its sources of strength at a time when its membership is being eroded by automation and related developments in the blue-collar strongholds of manufacturing, mining and railroading. And white-collar professional and technical workers whom the unions have thus far not successfully organized have themselves been subject to the inroads of automation. Even such solid sources of union growth as the civil service employees, teachers and the service trades will not, in the view of most observers, replace present or threatened membership losses or provide the dynamic for a revitalization of the movement.

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The hard fact is that organized labor in this country numbers no more than it did in 1956, represents only about a quarter of the organizable work force, is failing to maintain even this modest ratio as the labor force grows, and has attracted proportionately fewer workers than in any of the advanced industrial countries.

The crisis in the labor movement is most acutely reflected in the inability of the unions to develop or recruit effective organizers. With a changing, more youthful labor force the unions desperately need committed young organizers—the kind of people who in the thirties found in the labor movement a natural outlet for their ideals. Today few such people are attracted to organizing. Many of them have demonstrated superb organizing skills in other areas: civil rights, rent strikes, campus movements. They would like to "graduate" into the labor movement but are repelled by its backwardness. Some of them do overcome their misgivings, but almost uniformly pull out after a little exposure to the bureaucracy.

Gus Tyler, assistant president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and head of its Politics, Education and Training Department, has written two books which, in quite different ways, defend the labor establishment. *The Labor Revolution* pays lip service to the plight of the labor movement as I have described it but manages to find a silver lining in every cloud—no matter how dark.

The book has much the flavor of a Madison Avenue promotion to recapture a dwindling market for a product which has fallen into popular disfavor. Thus we are invited to read about labor's "deep and quiet revolution" which when matured will be "the third great labor epoch in the 20th century." The doom-sayers simply "have lost sensitive contact with current developments" with the result that "a great phenomenon in the making may go unheeded until it overwhelms both the seers and doers, the intellectuals and the trade unionists."

The trouble with these gloomy critics, says Tayler, is that they neglect the long view—"by periods instead of individual years." And where will labor's revolutionary new leaders come from? Tyler's answer is a Panglossian gem: "New leadership in a movement is part of the historic process that introduces new elements in a culture; it is endemic." (A few years ago, ILGWU smashed a staff union by firing its leaders.)

Tyler finds strong support for his optimism in the potentialities of the professional and white-collar sector. But, here as throughout the book, he ignores the facts which demonstrate that the very groups he counts on to transform the union movement have proved to be most resistant to unionism.

In a volume fertile with distortion, the author's treatment of labor's civil rights record is especially startling. To hear Mr. Tyler tell it, the labor movement has fought valiantly against discrimination. And when labor has blighted job opportunities for Negroes, it has only been because of job scarcity.

But Tyler's apologetics are shamed by the record of his own ILGWU, a union of about 450,000 needle workers, of whom some 150,000 are nonwhite. Civil rights and civil liberties organizations have repeatedly charged, in the language of CORE, that "ILGWU has for years permitted conditions to exist which keep the vast majority of black workers in the lowest-paying jobs and has denied black workers a policy-making voice in the union through restrictive constitutional provisions." NAACP officials, in commenting on a 1962 administrative finding that the union had discriminated against a Negro cutter, complained that nonwhites were not only systematically denied better job opportunities "but are also denied a voice in the effective leadership of their union. Perhaps if this second condition did not exist, the first would not have been able to develop."

Over the years, rank-and-file protest against the union's discriminatory policies has been suppressed by highly restrictive eligibility requirements for union office, enabling the incumbents to co-opt the leadership. The formation of an opposition is further stymied by a constitutional prohibition against caucuses except for a brief period prior to the conventions. No Negro has ever been elected to the general executive board of the union.

In a book which so fondly mythologizes labor's failures, we find a predictable polemic against independent political action and ideology, and yet another blueprint for a labor-based liberal coalition (no mention is made of the poor). But the sterile reality was made all too clear by the last Presidential election. (The New York City Central Labor Council has just endorsed the law-and-order mayoralty candidate, Mario Procaccino against John Lindsay with no dissent by the ILGWU.) And the self-congratulatory account of the coalition's claimed triumphs during the years of Democratic ascendancy altogether suppresses the fact that for all of labor's enormous contributions in money and manpower to the Democratic Party, its influence has been nominal.

A thesis about the origin and nature of trade unions, first suggested in *The Labor Revolution*, is the subject of Mr. Tyler's later book, *The Political Imperative*, a volume in *Studies of the Modern Corporation* sponsored by Co-

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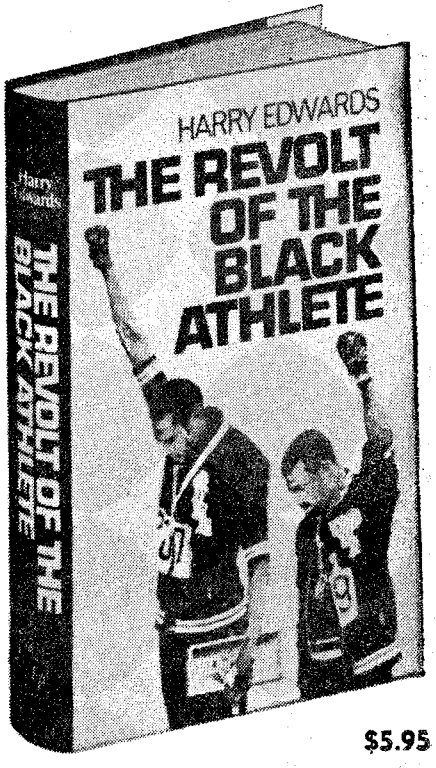

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lumbia's Graduate School of Business. Mr. Tyler here disputes the generally accepted notion that unions came into being out of economic necessity. He urges instead that a trade union is the product of an instinctual biological urge ("imperative," "compulsion") to form groups. The emphasis, in Tyler's language, is on an "anthropological investigation of unions: the missing link between man's relationship to the apes and his employer."

The "congregational compulsion" is ratified by the institutions of the culture as they have evolved historically. According to Tyler, when Aristotle said, "Man is, by nature, a political animal," he meant that "somewhere in man's bones is a congregational compulsion. . . . Man gathers in the *polis* not by accident nor design but by nature. He is re-enacting in a civilized state the primeval habit he inherited with his animal origins: the herd instinct."

The *polis* through which the "congregational compulsion" finds expression may be any grouping from a cocktail party to a bowling league, from a corporation to a union. The *polis* of the work place is the union which owes its origins to "the instinct of occupational birds to flock together."

Unions and corporations are "generically one and the same" but our perceptions of this unity are obscured by semantics. (Hence, the book's subtitle, *The Corporate Character of Unions.*) The modern worker is a "citizen" of the corporation which employs him. His union, which he is biologically driven to join, is "a little corporation within the larger corporation, which is, in turn, a corporation within a larger corporation, the state."

Now we know the reason for the optimism of *The Labor Revolution* about the organizing potential of the new labor force—the congregational compulsion as expressed through the "history of man on earth." (Just wait until the primeval urge begins to bubble in the blood.)

Mr. Tyler's book, for all of its up-to-the-minute jargon, is a belated addition to the literature of social Darwinism. Reading it is like traveling through a museum of intellectual antiquarianism with an enthusiastic guide touting its tired attractions.

We are thus being invited to inspect as fresh discoveries and without attribution: some of Herbert Spencer's faded "laws," Darwin's insistence (in the *Descent of Man*) on man's social habits, Walter Bagehot's "faculty of coherence" (Bagehot's *Physics and Politics* was subtitled *Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of "Natural Selection" and "Inheritance" to Political Society*), John Fiske's *Meaning of Infancy* (Tyler weirdly transforms Fiske's thesis promulgated in 1883 about the socializing influence of prolonged infancy into an explanation of the reasons for unions), and related theories advanced to counter Hobbesian interpretations of Darwinism and culminating in Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid.* Similar attempts to find biological support for social cooperation and group solidarity were also used to justify nationalism and racism.

"Pet notion" books like this which seek to challenge accepted theories can charm (even when they fail to persuade) by their speculative boldness, imagination and originality. (Velikovsky's *Worlds in Collision* is a good modern example.) But Tyler is derivative and preachy; and because his "anthropology" is so free-wheeling (strongly reminiscent in its oversimplification of Arthur Brisbane's Hearst editorials) and his *polis* so all-embracing, he proves nothing—except that American labor apologists will go to extraordinary lengths to reject the class nature of unions.

Harry H. Wellington's book—(he teaches at Yale Law School)—is as elegant and analytic as Mr. Tyler's areo verblown and wish-fulfilling. As I have suggested, the modern union is almost wholly a product of legal rules. While addressed primarily to the law student and teacher, Wellington's detailed exploration of the key legal problems raised by government support of the collective bargaining process is illuminating for the general reader as well as for unions. As he points out, issues precipitated by the new statutory powers of unions—such as the scope of rights of management, the role of the employee in the collective structure, and the relationship of labor to the political process—are not really new but revive in a more complex and sophisticated form many of the historic problems raised in the courts when workers struggled to collectivize the employment relationship.

Unique to modern collective bargaining representation by unions is the duty of fair representation. Neither the Railway Labor Act nor the Wagner Act specifically provides that the union chosen by the employees must represent all of them impartially. In the 1944 *Steele* case, the Supreme Court began a process of spelling out such a duty in a dispute involving discrimination against Negroes by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, then a lily-white union, in matters of promotion and seniority. In a landmark decision the Court struck down a discriminatory agreement and read into the Railway Labor Act a duty of fair and nondiscriminatory representation.

But, as in the case of other judicial pronouncements against racism, the Court's ruling was either ignored by

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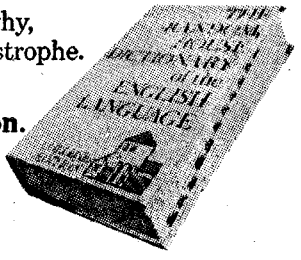

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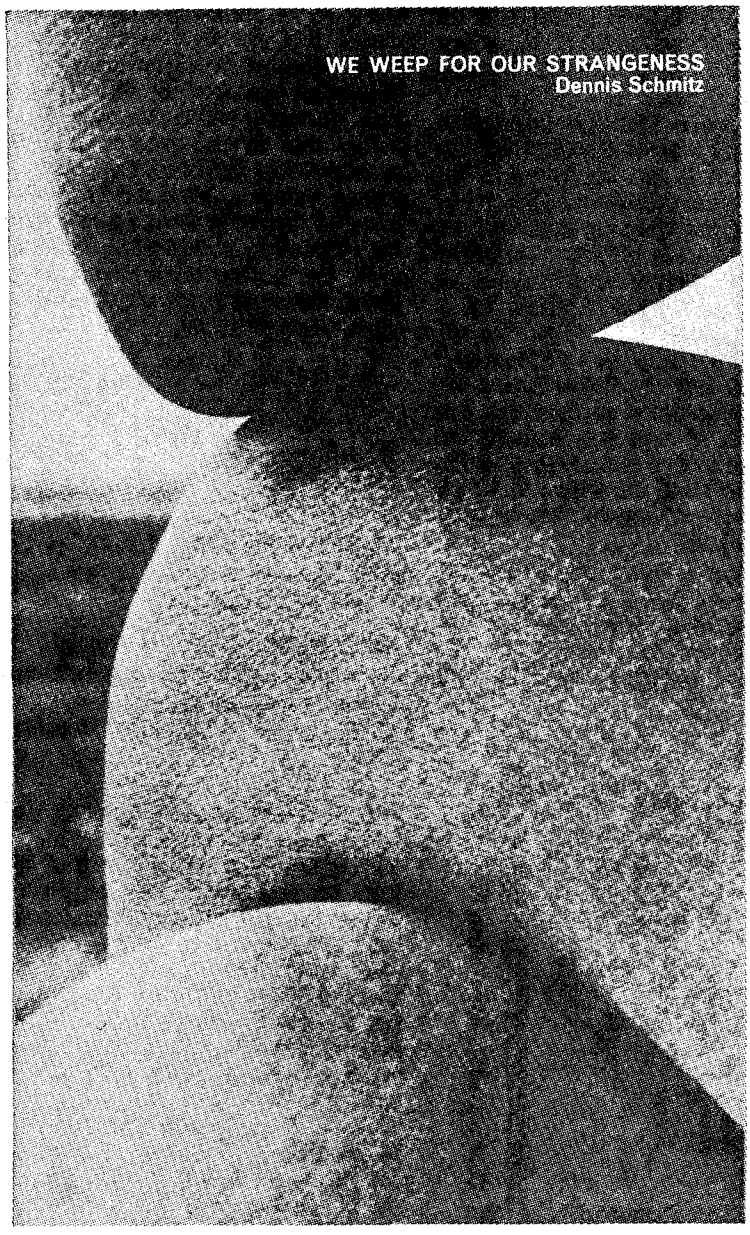

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unions or narrowly confined. It was not until 1964 that the NLRB finally recognized that the duty not to discriminate in negotiating or administering the collective bargaining agent could not, as a matter of law, be properly discharged by a Jim Crow union. As the author points out in commenting on the board's extraordinary reluctance to reach this decision: "The unhappy fact is that the National Labor Relations Board failed during these twenty years to perform its task properly, to display the courage required of it, to provide leadership in the fight against discrimination; and leadership, nothing less, was what the statute required. Indeed, it was not until the civil rights movement caught up with the fair representation doctrine that the Board accepted its responsibility."

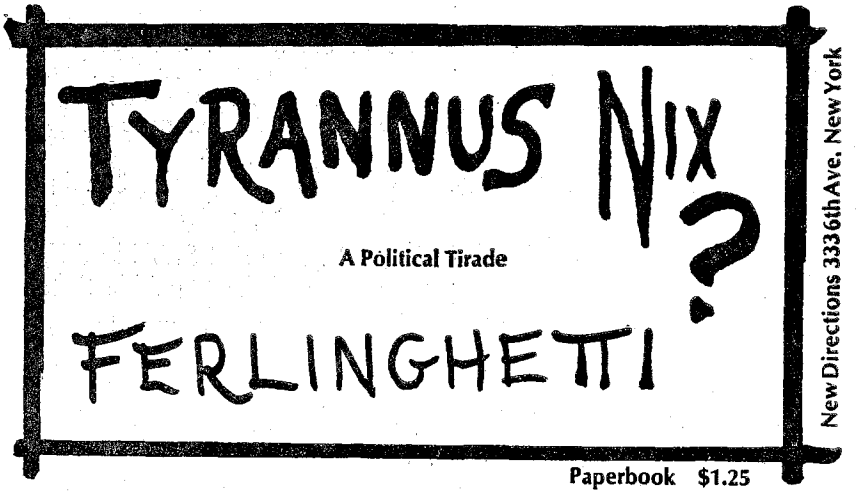
The author hopes that the Labor Relations Act remedy, together with the union and employment anti-discrimination provisions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, will overcome industrial racism. As he notes, the statute's conciliation therapy and reliance on individual lawsuits by victims of discrimination is not a promising way to cope with the problem. But one cannot share his optimism that the Attorney General's office will use its injunction seeking powers to curb a "pattern or practice" of discrimination.

Even a statute with teeth—hardly a realistic political possibility these days—would not eliminate the impacted economic discrimination of generations of racism in industry without voluntary major compensating adjustments by employers and unions.

The problem of economic discrimination by unions against members of the bargaining unit is also implicated in the duty of fair representation. This problem is far more complex than that of racial discrimination because a standard of fair representation is impossible to formulate. The author suggests as a standard of fair representation "the expectations of the employee community," and proposes that the Labor Board develop and apply such a standard. But this proposal fails to take into account the erosion of collective expectations in the bargaining unit and the extent to which the short-term self-interest has Balkanized its solidarity.

Besides, the prospect of government review by board and courts of collective bargaining decisions, not to speak of day-to-day procedures in administering the contract, can hardly be viewed with equanimity—especially in the light of the powerful anti-union mystique of individual rights, historically perhaps the most damaging weapon in the attacks on unions and the bargaining process.

The notion of governmental review in this area makes sense only if it be assumed that the fundamental values of trade unionism are irreversibly lost—a conclusion fashionable among sociologists. Certainly one must agree with the author that federal internal regulation, as reflected in the Landrum-Griffin Act, cannot restore union democracy—in the sense of "popular sovereignty." Indeed, the effect of the statute has been to legitimate the undemocratic *status quo* by giving dissenters rights which are all too often empty promises.



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Splendid Story

UNION MAN: The Life of a Labor Statesman. *By David J. McDonald. E. P. Dutton & Co. 352 pp. $7.95.*

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS

Mr. Gibbons, a previous contributor to The Nation, *is a labor editor in Pittsburgh. He has also written for* Commonweal *and* Labor Today.

American labor, according to C. Wright Mills, had climbed into bed with the Establishment soon after the end of World War II, and social and economic historians are still offering diverse postulations as to how it occurred. And while autobiographies of self-described "labor statesmen" are not likely to be the best route toward documentation, they do offer a study in personalities and motivations, providing some light along the way.

David J. McDonald was many things to many people. A man who once authorized an earlier house biography called *Man of Steel* could never claim to be unassuming or modest, and readers of this book will not be troubled by bashfulness. While few will recognize him as the author of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which is one of the many revelations in this "Life of a Labor Statesman," McDonald is worthy of consideration.

As secretary to Philip Murray he was privy to much of the interplay which led to John L. Lewis staking the treasury of his Mine Workers toward the unionization of America's unorganized mass industries. For sixteen years he served as Murray's alter ego as secretary-treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America; after his death McDonald assumed the presidency for thirteen years until he

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was deposed in 1965. Thus he was more than an eyewitness to the dramatic surge of the CIO, the internal fratricide with the Left unions and the Communists, the *rapprochement* with the American Federation of Labor, and the partnership with the New Deal and the Democratic Party.

This in itself might have made a worthwhile and colorful contribution, but David McDonald tells it in such a way that one feels he is reading a trade union version of *The Cardinal*. Yet a wholly believable account is his turning down an opportunity to go to Hollywood as an assistant director on two occasions. Is he lamenting this decision by writing an epic for the screen?

Reconstructing his early life, McDonald allows that indeed here was a man on a rendezvous with history: "Had someone told me then," he writes of the time he watched the Harding funeral train, "that I would in a few years hence become closely involved with six United States Presidents I would no more have believed him than I would have believed that one day my picture would appear in Pittsburgh newspapers more often than any other living American."

When the entrenched craft unions in the AFL turned down his proposals to organize the unskilled in the basic industries, Lewis and his supporters went ahead with the CIO organizing campaigns. Murray, vice president of the Mine Workers, was selected to head up the Steel Workers Organizing Committee with McDonald as number-two man. Or was it the other way around? Reading *Union Man*, one is not quite sure.

The CIO drive in big steel, hardened by almost half a century of fear and paternalism after unionism had been crushed at Homestead, Pa., has been portrayed as one of the more dramatic of the 1930s. McDonald tells otherwise, declaring that as the SWOC was despairing "at the lowest ebb of our organizing campaign . . . an incredible stroke of good fortune came our way." In February 1937, Myron Taylor, board chairman of U.S. Steel, the giant of the industry, asked Lewis, Murray and Sidney Hillman to dine with him at his Manhattan home. Serious thought about the plight of his employees, prompted by an ocean voyage back from the Vatican, made him a humanitarian and as a consequence, "the United States Steel Corporation fell into our lap."

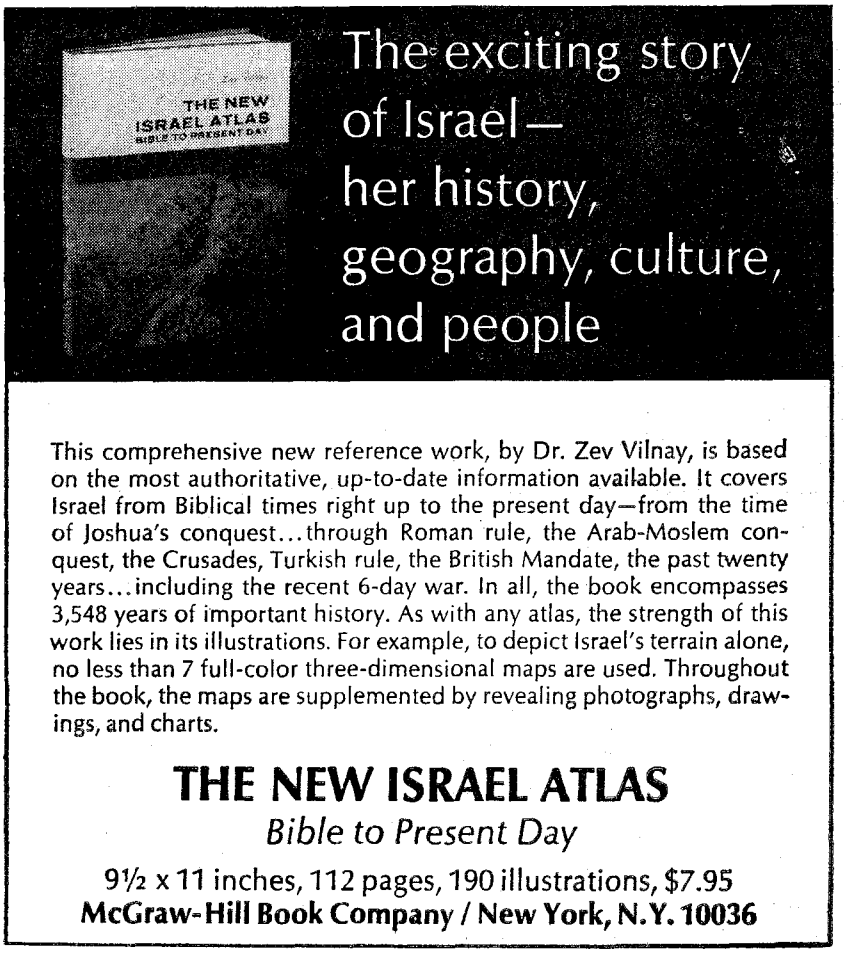
McDonald was pacing in a hotel room while that pact was made, but he had a piece of the action from then on. The Man of Steel drove through a police barricade in Youngstown, Ohio (telling the fuzz he was a salesman for Whiz Products—"a company I created on the spot") where he prevented a Communist-led mass march of striking Steelworkers to a "certain bloodbath." Later, when Murray fell ill, McDonald admitted to a virtual one-man organization of the industry holdouts in "Little Steel." One recalls Samuel Johnson's caution that "seldom any splendid story is wholly true."

Yet in truth he was a skilled negotiator and no one's fool at the bargaining table. "I was a tough son of a bitch," he declared after assigning barracks to families driven out of their homes by the mine owners in the 1925 strike. Despite this he became a missionary for what he called "democratic capitalism," for a time provided a forum for Moral Rearmament, and eventually skidded into something called "mutual trusteeship," which to many men in the mills was little more than high-sounding back-room bargaining. Moving in high circles, he tells of a White House dinner where a Washington society leader inquired of his position:

> "Are you kidding?" I asked. "My picture has been in the papers almost every day lately and I'm on the television news every night." She shook her head so I tried again. "Don't you know about the steel strike?" She looked blank and asked, "What steel strike?" And I said, "Jesus Christ, you are a dumb broad." She thought that was very funny, roared with laughter and repeated it to everyone around the table.

Memoirs of close associations with exalted politicians and public figures are always deadly. McDonald was no exception; he was an early boomer for John Kennedy, preferred his brother Robert to Hubert Humphrey (who reneged on his political debts, he says) was unimpressed with Adlai Stevenson, and was for Lyndon Johnson when the rest of the labor caucus at the 1960 Democratic convention sought to stop his Vice Presidential nomination. Richard Nixon is there too: they remained "warm friends" despite the political gap.

The anti-climactic termination of his own political career in the union came a few months after the 1964 Democratic triumph. Wet-eyed, he left the helm of his "beloved Steelworkers" and retired to Palm Springs, to write his story. Like many such efforts, what he tells is interesting; what he does not tell may well have been more significant. And to Dave McDonald it might not have been particularly interesting or significant that he endorsed his friend Richard Nixon in 1968.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Poverty War Games

THE GREAT SOCIETY'S POOR LAW: A New Approach to Poverty. *By Sar A. Levitan. The Johns Hopkins Press. 348 pp. $7.95.*

GEORGE BRAGER

Mr. Brager is a professor at the Columbia University School of Social Work. He was formerly co-director of Mobilization For Youth, and edited Community Action Against Poverty *with Francis Purcell.*

No federal office, perhaps since the Freedmans Bureau, has been as subject to critical barrage as the Office of Economic Opportunity. Republicans and Democrats have variously characterized the poverty war as a great boondoggle and a fomenter of class struggle. The anti-poverty warriors have hardly fared better. Saul Alinsky, Chicago's professional radical, calls them "pimps of the poor," while Daniel Moynihan, Nixon's resident urbanologist, attacks from another direction, suggesting that perhaps they are idealists with a middle-class lust for the apocalypse. However contradictory the criticism, it has emanated from all sectors of American life: rich and poor, North and South, the courthouses and the universities, reactionaries and radicals, the mild and the militant, blacks and whites, and many of the groups between. The poverty program constitutes a political Rorschach.

We tend to assume that widespread criticism is evidence of the program's failure (Moynihan's *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding* is a prime example of such devaluation). Certainly, the Office of Economic Opportunity is demoralized and in disarray. In "spinning off" Head Start and the Job Corps to other federal departments, and appointing a Congressman who voted against the Economic Opportunity Act as OEO director, the Nixon Administration has only accelerated, rather than begun, the devitalization of the office. But these are short-range consequences. Even Nixon accepts the continuation of a federal agency whose special interest is the poor.

The fortunes of the office are separate from the impact of its activities and ideas. What has been needed is a comprehensive evaluation of the poverty program itself. Sar A. Levitan has attempted it in *The Great Society's Poor Law*—and with considerable success. As Levitan readily acknowledges, the findings are not definitive. Adequate data and reliable measurements are unavailable, and even if they were, much would still remain a matter of value judgment and gut feeling. Levitan's conclusions are, as a matter of fact, only somewhat less qualified than the report of the General Accounting Office, which after fourteen months and $1.2 million, concluded with statements as equivocal as "[the Community Action Program] appears to have gained acceptance in most communities as a mechanism for focusing attention and action on the problems of the poor; and it has introduced new or expanded existing services to the poor. However, CAP has achieved these ends in lesser measure than was reasonable to expect." Aside from the significant fact that Levitan's work did not constitute a public expense, it is a more informed and independent analysis than the GAO survey. Levitan is a competent researcher, and he has subjected a number of discrete studies of OEO programs (some of them with contradictory outcomes) to critical review. Moreover, since evaluations of OEO are reflective of the evaluators, the fact that Levitan is a sympathetic, moderate and urbane man insures these qualities in his study.

Levitan is a social bookkeeper, and his approach is programmatic. Following a review of OEO's legislative history and administrative structure, the bulk of the work is devoted to a chapter-by-chapter analysis of the individual OEO programs, e.g., VISTA, Outward Bound, legal services, comprehensive health care, etc. He approves of most of them, if with qualification. On the basis of cost effectiveness criteria, the birth control program comes off the best investment. Of the program's most controversial feature, the community action agency, Levitan concludes that it "must certainly be judged an innovative agency which gave the poor their first social and political role."

A program by program evaluation has its disadvantages. A primary one is that it does not allow for a comprehensive analysis of concepts and issues which transcend single programs. So, for example, we read about OEO's need to compensate for the inadequacies of other federal programs and departments in each discussion of individual OEO programs. Head Start has been successful in providing guidelines for dealing with impoverished children, but, says Levitan it must ultimately be assessed by the changes it induces in the American educational system. OEO attention to migrant farm workers is a necessary corrective to the indifference of the Farmers Home Administration and other bureaus in the Department of Agriculture OEO's attempt to fight poverty with the pill "continues to be necessary because HEW has been even slower in adopting family planning programs." And so it goes. Nowhere are we treated to a dis

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cussion of issues for a federal agency whose jurisdiction overlaps the jurisdiction of others, and whose very success is dependent upon change in these other agencies.

Inevitably, OEO had to fight for position against the established agencies which it was intended to coordinate. Furthermore, its attempt to influence change in the federal bureaucracy (and in local welfare institutions) necessarily entailed making adversaries of powerful interests. And when it retreated, whether from excess caution or political wisdom, it alienated other constituencies.

The above is not needed to explain the virulent criticism directed against OEO, however. The fact that its intended beneficiaries were poor is sufficient. The Economic Opportunity Act is unabashedly class legislation, but as Levitan points out, although class legislation is very much a part of the American experience, it ordinarily benefits organized groups, not the unorganized poor. In their economic backwardness and political impotence, our impoverished citizens have traditionally provided the American public and its politicians with a ready target. Nor do the programs and professionals serving the interests of the poor escape unscathed. So, notes Levitan, in Congress' handling of the annual OEO appropriation, "the anti-poverty warriors were treated in the manner to which the poor, whom they represented, have always been accustomed. The annual handout was given grudgingly, with many strings attached, and after delaying as long as possible."

If its constituency and place within the field of institutional forces made criticism of the poverty program inevitable, the office undoubtedly contributed to its own travail. One can perhaps be sympathetic regarding its inconsistent response to pressure in implementing the "maximum feasible participation" provision of the legislation. It made a few courageous starts and some ignominious retreats. Although it is true that when principle and politics vied for ascendancy, the former gave way, it is also true that the poor did gain a foothold in the policy-making processes of many of the 1,000 community action agencies, due in large measure to OEO efforts. What OEO can be scored for, however, is the expansiveness of its rhetoric and its penchant for gimmickry. Like Westmoreland in that other war, Shriver promised quick victory.

Yet the nature of American social welfare is being changed by the poverty program. The Economic Opportunity Act contributed significantly and dramatically to the democratization of social welfare, though the task is far from finished. Its concept of participation by the poor is likely to endure, and is already written into other legislation (Community Mental Health, Model Cities). Innovative patterns and styles of service have been designed and have found acceptance: the comprehensive social service and health care centers, the extensive use of para-professionals, vigorous advocacy by social workers as they intercede on behalf of the poor with the public bureaucracies, and the testing of welfare law and regulation (OEO's legal services program initiated the Connecticut case in which the Supreme Court struck down residency laws in public welfare).

With it all, the Economic Opportunity Act has contributed little to the reduction of poverty. Levitan wryly notes that "though poverty sharply declined during the years of the Great Society, the most ardent friends of the EOA would not credit its programs with contributing much to this improvement." One must endorse his conclusion that what is required is, first, an income maintenance program, and second, a considerable expansion of the OEO type of service-oriented, self-help program. He estimates that each carries a price tag of approximately $20 billion, and argues that the nation can afford these expenditures by utilizing the additional revenue generated by normal economic growth. The knowledge and resources to eliminate poverty are at hand. But, as Levitan observes, until we muster the national will to do the job, the biblical admonition that "the poor shall never cease out of the land" will hold for our society.

RECORDS

DAVID HAMILTON

HANDEL: *Alexander's Feast.* Honor Sheppard, soprano; Max Worthley, tenor; Maurice Bevan, bass. Oriana Concert Choir and Orchestra. Alfred Deller, cond. Vanguard SRV-282/3-SD (two disks). $5.96.

Solomon. Elsie Morison, soprano; Lois Marshall, soprano; Alexander Young, tenor; John Cameron, baritone. Beecham Choral Society. Royal Philharmonic Orchestra. Sir Thomas Beecham, cond. Seraphim SIB-6039 (two disks). $4.98.

Theodora. Heather Harper, soprano; Maureen Forrester, Maureen Lehane, contraltos; Alexander Young, tenor; John Lawrenson, baritone. Amor Artis Chorale. English Chamber Orchestra. Johannes Somary, cond. Vanguard VCS-10050/2 (three disks). $11.94.

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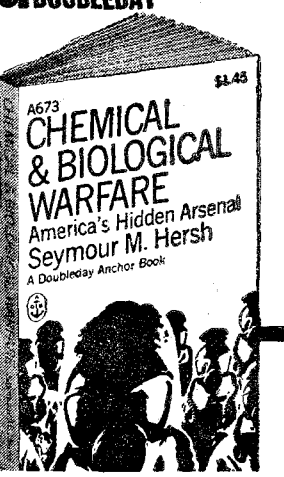

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ings, should at last lay to rest the traditional image of Victorian sanctimony associated (quite wrongly) with *Messiah* and a few other works. In his wildly misguided way, Sir Thomas Beecham endeavored to dissociate *Solomon* from that tradition by abridging, reorganizing, and thoroughly reorchestrating it to emphasize the secular aspects—but in the process he managed to homogenize Handel's wide range of textures and to unbalance melodic-harmonic relationships. It is a travesty, of which one is more conscious in the wake of the recent, more authentic Simon recording (see *The Nation*, December 2, 1968), but the Beecham also reminds one that, on its own terms, it is superbly performed; one can but lament that the newer version did not benefit from a similar sense of timing and feeling for phrase structure.

Theodora, Handel's penultimate oratorio, is here recorded for the first time; a work that eschews the elaborate effects of *Solomon*, it rather exploits a wide range of formal approaches to aria and chorus composition. The level of craftsmanship is exceptionally high, the concentration of musical events greater than usual with Handel—notably in the fine chorus that ends Part II and some of Theodora's arias (it should be noted that some perfunctory material is omitted in the recording). The performance is generally capable—the soloists often very good, the chorus often cloudy in sound. A welcome detail is the natural, expeditious delivery of recitative, avoiding the usual rhetorical stateliness.

The much earlier setting of Dryden's second Cecilian Ode is filled with ambitious and successful pictorial detail (the subject of the text is the power of music, which lends itself rather well to this sort of treatment). Deller's performance (a reissue) is short on orchestral accuracy, and the chorus' accented (if clear) diction does less than justice to Dryden, but there is a good sense of phrase and line; unlike Beecham's, these faults are nothing that a listener with ordinary imagination cannot amend.

STRAUSS: *Till Eulenspiegel*; *Don Juan*; *Tod und Verklärung*. Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Wilhelm Furtwängler, cond. Seraphim 60094 (mono). $2.49.

BELLINI: *Norma*. Maria Callas, soprano; Ebe Stignani, mezzo-soprano; Mario Filippeschi, tenor; Nicola Rossi-Lemeni, bass. La Scala Chorus and Orchestra. Tullio Serafin, cond. Seraphim IC-6037 (three disks, mono). $7.47.

PUCCINI: *Manon Lescaut*. Licia Albanese, soprano; Jussi Bjoerling, tenor; Robert Merrill, baritone. Rome Opera Chorus and Orchestra. Jonel Perlea, cond. RCA Victrola VIC-6027 (two disks, mono). $5.

OPERATIC ARIAS. Ernestine Schumann-Heink, contralto. RCA Victrola VIC-1409 (mono, recorded 1906-13). $2.50.

OPERATIC ARIAS. Enrico Caruso, tenor. RCA Victrola VIC-1430 (mono, recorded 1904-06). $2.50.

These exemplify various valuable aspects of the growing bargain-price "paperback" catalogue. Seraphim's circulation of the Furtwängler repertory is especially welcome because his recordings have recently been available only as expensive imports, and before that were only perfunctorily promoted by RCA during the years of the Toscanini craze (although these particular works happen to have been quite impressively played by both conductors). Cheaper editions of prestereo complete opera sets make reasonable the purchase of a recording because of the exceptional qualities of an individual performer such as Callas, and sometimes they represent the best available version of any vintage, e.g., the Perlea *Manon Lescaut*. And a special word of praise to Victrola's "old vocals" reissues, which avoid the usual chestnuts that RCA used to bring back repeatedly.

LETTERS *(Continued from page 194)*

their homes, or trying to exterminate them like rats. Not even at Sharpsburg or in Alabama. At least not women and children *first!*

I have a feeling that the photograph of Bernadette Devlin with a paving stone raised in her two hands over her head is going to become one of the landmark records in mankind's attempt to be free in this century—that some day there will be a statue in Bogside showing her in exactly that position. There certainly should be one in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, along with the memorials to those three Anglo-Irishmen—Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet and William Butler Yeats. For if it hadn't been for Bernadette Devlin there would have been no successful defense of Bogside. And if Bogside hadn't been successfully defended the British troops wouldn't have been called in. And if the British troops hadn't been called in, there would have assuredly been another St. Bartholomew's Night in Northern Ireland. Only this time the Roman Catholics would have been massacred.

Above all, I hope some day there will be such a statue outside the House of Commons. For if the books I read as a schoolboy in New England were telling the truth, that's what the House of Commons was originally all about. You can't get any commoner than Bogside. Or Miss Devlin. In the finest sense of the word. Saturday afternoon in Bogside I kept thinking about what an older but equally hot-tempered member of that same body had once said would happen if the enemy invaded *his* homeland. "We will fight them on the beaches. We will fight them in the streets." His youthful fellow M.P. has translated his immortal words into flaming action. In the end I believe both the English and the Irish will be proud of Bernadette Devlin. *John Philip Cohane*

one man's oligarchy

Great Neck, N.Y.

DEAR SIRS: It is discouraging to see a *Nation* editorial ["But the Problem Remains," Aug. 11] express the increasingly discredited viewpoint that "Latin American countries are ruled by feudal oligarchies." Several contributors to *The Nation*, the most recent being Robert Smith in his book reviews, have effectively demolished his hoary proposition. . . .

The issue is not a narrow academic controversy but is basic to an understanding of developments in Latin America. To contend that Latin America is ruled by feudal oligarchies is to portray, almost inevitably, the middle class as the force for social change. This of course is the rock on which the Alliance for Progress was built. But if one recognizes instead that Latin America is already ruled by the middle class and that the economic interests of the commercial-industrial and landed elements have tended to coalesce, then one understands that this policy is but a chimera. The people of Latin America cannot place their hopes for a better future on a middle class which has tied its chariot to the imperial economic interests of the United States, and is so fearful of the popular aspirations that it eagerly supports military coups whenever there is the slightest threat to the *status quo*. Need one mention Brazil?

What Latin America requires is a popular revolution supported by and in the interests of the impoverished peasantry and the urban slum dwellers. It is understandable why the policy makers of this country tenaciously cling to the theory that a supposedly progressive middle class will be the salvation of Latin America. . . . *Jack Minkoff*

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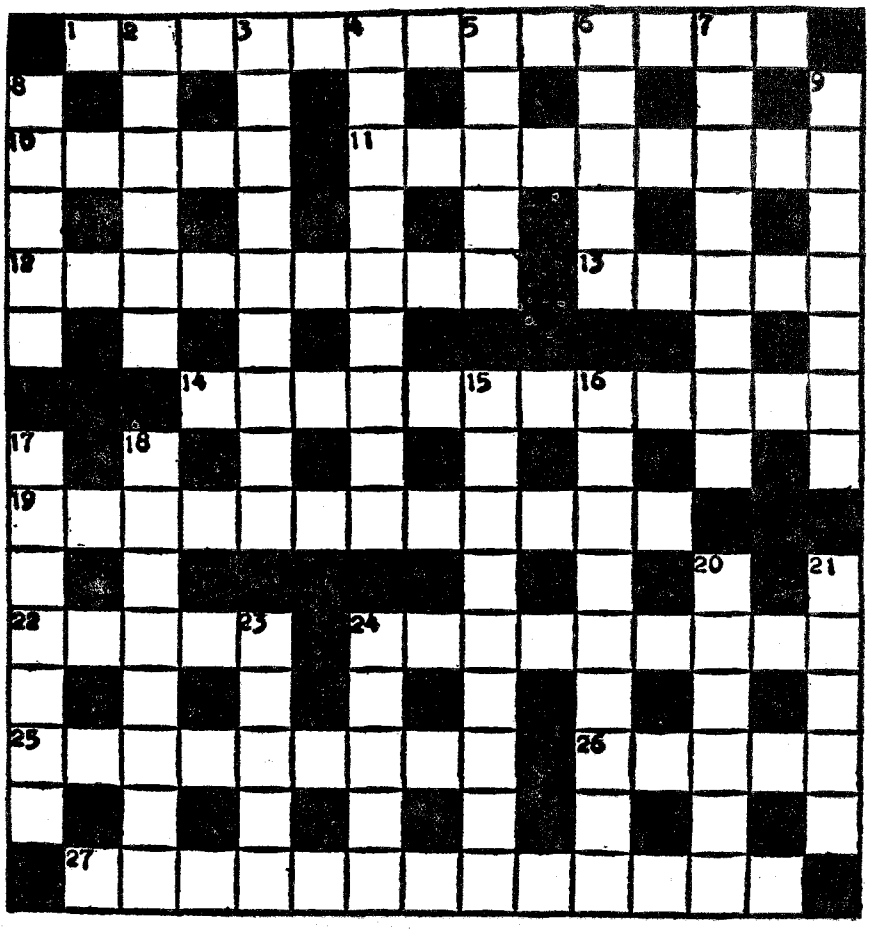
Crossword Puzzle No. 1311

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 April riches to uncover very, very early. (13)
10 Where some say they should have stood. Rose there, too! (2,3)
11 This appears to be a man I dislike violently! (9)
12 People who have a strong affection about a little amphibian sometimes get them for dinner. (4-5)
13 They give greater breadth in skirting what the bull sometimes does. (5)
14 There's a certain lack of inspiration in what TV wrestlers sometimes put on. (12)
19 and 8 down Notes Jackson can be on only one side, obviously! (6-6,5)
22 Feeling the wrong road goes right? (5)
24 You can consider this gem no counterfeit, but not exactly specified as such.
25 See 20 down
26 Often, nuisances are filled with a feeling of weariness. (5)
27 Things will never be the same with this! (13)

DOWN

2 Polish again? Check! (6)
3 So dry that it needs alteration to detect the presence of water. (9)
4 See 20 down
5 Savor characteristics. (5)
6 Specific in general baking ingredient which could improve the appearance. (5)
7 A sizeable plot of land atop it, dedicated to Greek poetry. (Music to "Oh Say Can You See" originally so dedicated, too.) (8)
8 See 19 across
9 These aside, without the trimming, might suggest the literal sound. (7)
15 Its winner had the highest standing at the Olympics. (4,5)
16 Law, perhaps. (9)
17 Fibers of leaves? (7)
18 The city we held in a state of riot? (3,5)
20, 4 down and 25 across Letter perfect as far as accomplishment? (6,6,3,9)
21 Implying at least one advantage in the encore. (5)
23 What an old cleaver does? (5)
24 Curtain material, which if quietly put on, would seem to be sparing. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1310

ACROSS: 9 Items; 10 Cherubini; 11 Entries; 12 Yearned; 13 Treed; 14 Spoken for; 16 Raspberry; 18 Track; 19 Hessian; 21 Explode; 22 Repugnant; 23 Raise; 24 Scrambled eggs. DOWN: 1 Leicestershire; 2 Sweetness; 3 Rescind; 4 Wicks; 5 Everybody; 6 Educate; 7 Scion; 8 and 1 across Finders keepers, losers weepers; 14 Strong-arm; 15 Flavoring; 17 Bridger; 18 Tapered; 20 Septs; 21 Extol.

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